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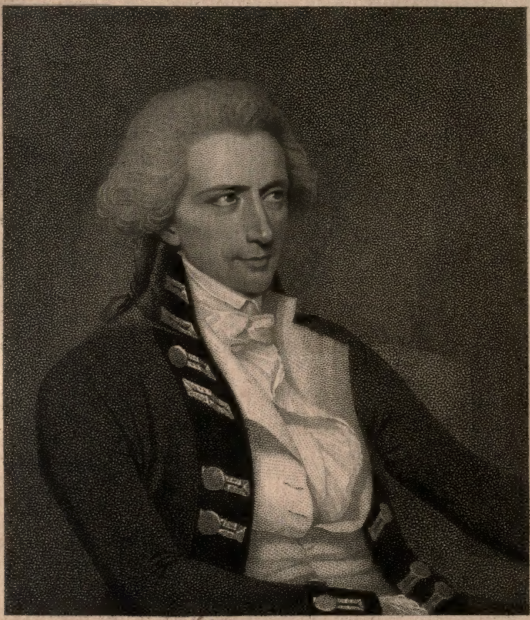

Engraved by W. Evans, from an original Picture by Robert Home, Esq.

HUGH BOYD ESQ.r

Published December 4. 1799, by Cadell & Davies, Strand.

THE

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF

HUGH BOYD,

THE

Author of the Letters of Junius.

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

BY

LAWRENCE DUNDAS CAMPBELL.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:

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ADVERTISEMENT.

BY an unaccountable miſtake of the perſon employed to correct the proof ſheets of the 1ſt volume of theſe works, Mr. Boyd's letters, which appeared in the Publick Advertiſer in the year 1779, *have been called* Democraticus, *in the running title, though they bear the ſignature of* Democrates: *and as the Editor had unluckily miſlaid the original papers, it was impoſſible for him exactly to determine which of theſe titles to give them. But from ſome circumſtances in his recollection, he conceived* Democraticus *to be the right one, and has therefore given the letters in queſtion that title, wherever he had occaſion to mention them in Mr. Boyd's Life. The Editor expects very ſhortly to procure another copy of the original papers; and in the additional volume to theſe works, which he intends publiſhing in the courſe of this year, he will inform the publick whether* Democraticus, *or* Democrates, *be the real ſignature.*

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PREFACE.

I Now preſent to the publick ſome part of the Miſcellaneous Works of HUGH BOYD, THE AUTHOR OF JUNIUS, together with a full and accurate account of his Life and Writings. The firſt volume contains the greateſt part of the political papers which he wrote between the years 1776 and 1781, his genuine Abſtracts of two celebrated Speeches of the Great Earl of Chatham, and alſo a few Poems, which I publiſh merely to ſhew the verſatility of his mind. The ſecond volume compriſes the Journal of his Embaſſy from the Government of Madras to the King of Candy, in the iſland of Ceylon,

lon, with ſome Letters relative thereto, and his Eſſays in the *Indian Obſerver*.

His political papers are extremely intereſting, not only from their ſtriking ſimilitude to the letters of *Junius*, but from their own intrinſick merit. The memorable Speeches of the Earl of Chatham, are here rendered the more valuable, from the uncommon preciſion with which they are given, and the maſterly and eloquent Preface by which they are illuſtrated. The Journal of his Embaſſy to Candy, is a tract of no inconſiderable importance in the hiſtory of Britiſh India, and will therefore be uſeful to every perſon connected with that country: nor will it be unentertaining to the publick at large, as well from the character of its author, as from the neatneſs and vivacity of its ſtyle. In the Preface to the Journal, I have endeavoured to ſupply that information reſpecting the iſland of Ceylon, which it was Mr. Boyd's intention to have written,

and

and which will, I hope, be found no leſs inſtructive than it is neceſſary. The Letter annexed to the Journal, gives a lively account of his capture by the French fleet, and of his ſubſequent impriſonment in the iſlands of *Mauritius* and *Bourbon*. This letter exhibits a ſpecimen of Mr. Boyd's familiar ſtyle, which is eaſy, unaffected, and perſpicuous. The Eſſays in the *Indian Obſerver*, though not to be compared in point of literary excellence with the highly-finiſhed productions of his early and more ſtudious years, are nevertheleſs worthy of being ranked among them, both on account of their principles and ſentiments, and of the elegant, if not nervous language, in which theſe are clothed.

Such are the Miſcellaneous Writings of Mr. Boyd, contained in theſe volumes, and ſuch are their reſpective claims to the notice of the publick. In the courſe of the preſent year, I propoſe to publiſh an additional volume, conſiſting of the Letters ſigned *Lucius* and

and *Brutus*, which Mr. Woodfall acknowledges to have been written by *Junius*, and of ſeveral others of Mr. Boyd's, that appeared at different times in the *Publick Advertiſer*.

The Portrait that accompanies theſe Works, was engraved from an original picture, for which Mr. Boyd ſat (a few years previous to his death) to Mr. R. HOME*: and as it is a ſpirited and faithful repreſentation of a countenance, which many Readers may be curious to ſee, I have thought it neceſſary to publiſh it.

With regard to the narrative of Mr. Boyd's Life, it will be found to differ in many particulars from the ſhort account prefixed to a former edition of the *Indian Obſerver*. When I wrote that account, my materials were both ſcanty and imperfect: but the circumſtances that are now related,

* Mr. HOME is a brother of Mrs. HUNTER's, relict of the celebrated JOHN HUNTER.

have

have been communicated to me from the moſt unqueſtionable authorities.

The delineation of his character, written at a time when all its minuteſt features were diſtinctly preſent to my mind, I have not altered in any eſſential part, though I have corrected ſome blemiſhes of ſtyle, which in the firſt draught had eſcaped my notice.

Of the inveſtigation concerning *Junius*, I deem it requiſite, moſt ſolemnly to aver, that I have not adduced a ſingle fact or circumſtance, but what I can ſubſtantiate on poſitive and creditable evidence; and I am perſuaded that I have not drawn a ſingle inference but what is ſtrictly juſt.

In the courſe of this inquiry, I have been not a little indebted to Mr. ALMON, whoſe information and experience enabled him to furniſh me with ſome intereſting particulars, which I could not have obtained from any other perſon, and which ſtrongly corroborate the teſtimony of Mrs. BOYD.

The

The whole together conſtitutes a maſs of evidence, than which nothing more convincing can reaſonably be expected, or perhaps ever attained in this queſtion. The only additional proof that there is any probability of procuring, is the manuſcript of *Junius*, which if Mr. H. S. Woodfall ſhall chooſe to produce, I will ſubmit fac-ſimiles of it, and of Mr. Boyd's hand-writing, together, to the publick. This I conceive to be a fair and candid propoſal to Mr. Woodfall, which if he *does not meet*, every man of ſenſe will know what concluſion to form; but which if he *does meet*, will inconteſtibly prove to thoſe, who have not leiſure to conſider facts and circumſtances, and who cannot conſequently be ſatisfied with the deductions of reaſoning, that the manuſcript of *Junius* was actually written by Mr. Boyd.

As to thoſe who have raiſed an ignorant and vulgar clamour againſt his abilities, I do not expect, much leſs do I deſire, to convince

convince them of a fact, on which they ſeem ſo ill qualified to decide. Neither is there much chance, that the proofs I have brought forward, will be powerful enough to influence another claſs of readers, whoſe minds are already ſhut againſt conviction, and whom a falſe prejudice has predetermined not to believe this fact, unleſs it ſhall be eſtabliſhed by abſolute demonſtration. Yet when Time, which reſolves all things, ſhall have worn down theſe ſtubborn opinions, I cannot doubt but all men of judgment will admit, that Mr. BOYD WAS THE AUTHOR OF JUNIUS.

In the mean while, however, I truſt every unbiaſſed mind will agree with me on this point; and if I ſhall, thereby, be enabled to tranſmit the memory of my Friend to poſterity, along with thoſe literary honours which his genius has won, I ſhall look back with a grateful remembrance to the inſtructive hours

hours which I paſſed in his ſociety, and with the heart-felt ſatisfaction of having proved myſelf worthy of his friendſhip.

Paddington,
18*th February*, 1800.

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ERRATA.

In Vol. I. p. 167, line 3, for *filicet*, read *ſcilicet*.
p. 170, line 10, for *commis*, read *comes*.
p. 171, line 17, for *intertia*, read *inertia*.

THE LIFE

OF

HUGH BOYD,

BY

LAWRENCE DUNDAS CAMPBELL.

THE LIFE

OF

HUGH BOYD.

HUGH BOYD was the second son of ALEXANDER MACAULEY, Esq. of the county of Antrim, in Ireland, who had long been the intimate friend of DEAN SWIFT*. Mr.

* SWIFT appointed Mr. MACAULEY one of the executors of his Will, in which he speaks of him in the following terms:

"Item: I bequeath to Alexander Macauley, Esq. "the gold box in which the freedom of the city of "Dublin was presented to me, as a testimony of the "esteem and love I have for him, on account of his "great learning, fine natural parts, unaffected piety and "benevolence, and his truly honourable zeal in defence "of the legal rights of the clergy, in opposition to all "their unprovoked oppressors."

See SWIFT'S WILL, *in the 12th vol. of his works.*

Mr. Macauley was bred to the law, and having very early diſtinguiſhed himſelf at

This eulogium appears, from all accounts, to have been very juſtly merited. Few men of his time, were more univerſally eſteemed in Ireland, than Mr. Macauley. Nor was he unknown to people of the firſt diſtinction in England. He had been patronized by FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES, to whom he was introduced by the *good* LORD LYTTLETON. As a practical lawyer, he is ſaid to have been ſo conſcientious, that he always refuſed to be retained in an iniquitous cauſe. It is alſo related of him, that when BALDWIN was Provoſt of Dublin College, one of the fellows, a man of rank and great influence, was to be expelled from it, for ſome very glaring impropriety. The gentleman knowing Mr. Macauley's intereſt with Baldwin, ſolicited the former, in the moſt earneſt manner, to intercede in his behalf; promiſing, that if he prevailed on Baldwin to mitigate the puniſhment, he ſhould get him (Mr. Macauley) appointed a ſenior judge on the firſt vacancy, and his wife's uncle made a biſhop. But Mr. Macauley rejected his offers, and refuſed to interfere, ſaying, "he had too high an opinion of Baldwin, to ſuppoſe he would ever puniſh unjuſtly."

The pen-knife, with which the aſſaſſin Guiſcard attempted to murder the celebrated HARLEY Earl of OXFORD, was given by his Lordſhip to Swift, ſome years after that event took place. Swift gave it to Mr. Macauley, who, after Swift's death, uſed to keep it in the gold box mentioned above: but on Mr. Macauley's demiſe, neither the box nor knife could be found.

the

the Iriſh bar, he was firſt appointed one of the King's counſel, and afterwards judge of the conſiſtory court of Dublin. At the time of his death he had a ſeat in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, and was, through his whole life, much eſteemed for his talents and virtues. He married Miſs Boyd, the daughter of Hugh Boyd, Eſq. of Ballycaſtle, in the ſame county; a gentleman of plentiful fortune and great reſpectability. By this lady, Mr. Macauley had two ſons and two daughters. HUGH, the youngeſt of his ſons, and the ſubject of this narrative, was born at Ballycaſtle, in the county of Antrim, the family ſeat of his maternal grandfather, in the month of October 1746, where he continued during his infancy.

The circumſtances of his being named after his grandfather, of his living under his care until he was four years old, and of his ſhewing, even at that age, ſtrong indications of talents, endeared him to the old gentleman, who beheld the dawn of his genius with mingled emotions of pleaſure and pride, and who uſed frequently to ſay, "Hugh will become a great man!"

The

The pleaſure which every man of ſenſibility and reflection receives from contemplating the gradual expanſion of the infant mind, renders him prone to magnify the force and merit of thoſe ſmart, and often juſt obſervations, which ſprightly children occaſionally make. And the parent, or friend, who is employed in the delightful taſk of "teaching the young idea how to ſhoot," views whatever is commendable, or faſcinating in the darling object of his care, with an eye ſo full of pride and affection, as to be blinded to every defect, and to ſee every beauty through a microſcope. Hence parents are led to cheriſh the flattering hope of future excellence in their children, in which they are ſo frequently deceived. And hence we are apt to miſtake thoſe ſharp flaſhes of vivacity which, ſometimes, ſparkle in the morning of life, for that broad effulgence which precedes the aſcenſion of genius. That no accurate judgment of the underſtanding can be formed from the lively ſallies of youth, experience ſufficiently proves. Innumerable inſtances might be adduced, in which boys, who diſplayed the

moſt

moſt vigorous as well as brilliant parts at ſchool, became weak and frivolous when they mixt with the world; and in ſome caſes, indeed, forgetting their early acquirements, have paſſed through life, noticed only for their ignorance, imbecility, or dulneſs. Few men have ſhewn any real indications of abilities before the age of ſixteen, when the mind begins to reflect on its own operations, and to arrange the ideas it has received.

There are, however, two anecdotes related of Mr. Boyd, while he was a boy, which deſerve to be mentioned, as they ſeem to juſtify the opinion his grandfather entertained of him; and as they mark the firſt growth of that ſpirit, and thoſe ſentiments which animated and diſtinguiſhed him through life.

Mr. Boyd had an inſatiable thirſt for information, from his earlieſt infancy; and as ſoon as he was taught to read, which was at five years old, he became fond of books, and uſed to read all he could lay his hands on. He was ſcarce ſix years old, when reading Vertot's Hiſtory of the Revo-

lutions

lutions of Sweden, one evening in a retired corner of the drawing-room, he ſuddenly exclaimed, "I ſhall never forgive Guſtavus!" The vivacity with which he expreſſed his diſapprobation, attracted the notice, and excited the laughter and admiration of the company, one of whom aſked him, how the Swede had offended him?—"He has taken the crown," anſwered Hugh; "I hope, Sir," anſwered his friend, (who was an old ſoldier) "you do not diſlike kings?" "Not always," replied the boy, "but I thought Guſtavus had conquered for the *people*, inſtead of which I now find it was for *himſelf*."

Soon after this occurrence, another little incident took place, which, however trivial it may ſeem to the generality of my readers, merits attention as being highly characteriſtic of Mr. Boyd; and as ſerving to ſhew, that the playfulneſs and humour with which, during his whole life, he uſed to aſſuage anger and parry an attack, and which muſt be ſtill freſh in the recollection of all who knew him, was a natural felicity of diſpoſition, rather than an acquired politeneſs,

neſs. He had been one day playing marbles, and eager at his ſport, did not obſerve the approach of the dinner hour, and had neglected to waſh his hands. On being called into the parlour, he was going to place himſelf at table, when his mother, obſerving his brown knuckles, ordered him to retire, for he had dirty hands. "It is only a little duſt, madam, (ſaid Hugh) for my father and I have always clean hands, uncontaminated by *baſe bribes*." He was of courſe permitted to ſit down; and obtained, in the approving ſmiles of his parents, an earneſt of the future meed of his large honour,—the applauſe of the wiſe and virtuous.

He began to *pun* while he was yet in his childhood; and he often punned ſo aptly, that he both ſurpriſed and amuſed his friends. This propenſity ſtuck to him through life.

He has himſelf told me of his early predilection for literature and politicks. That he had made but little progreſs at ſchool, when he felt the inſpirations of fancy; which he did not indulge like the common

run

run of ſprightly boys, by making Latin verſes to his maſter, but by writing political letters, and ſending them to his father.

"Not to name," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "the ſchool, or the maſters of men, illuſtrious for literature, is a kind of hiſtorical fraud, by which honeſt fame is injuriouſly diminiſhed." I am therefore happy at being now able to trace Mr. Boyd through the proceſs of his education. After being inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of knowledge by his father, whoſe ample acquirements and mild authority ſo well fitted him for the taſk; he was ſent to the well-known and reſpectable ſchool of Mr. Ball, in Dublin. At this ſchool he firſt became acquainted with the celebrated Mr. Henry Grattan, who, though two years older, purſued his ſtudies in the ſame claſs, where their early admiration of each other's talents, gave birth to that friendſhip which ever afterwards ſubſiſted between them. It is worthy of being remarked, as an honour to the excellent tuition of Mr. Ball, that the preſent Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the late Mr. Forbes, together with many other gentlemen, eminent

nent for their literary acquirements, were alſo educated under his auſpicious care.

At this ſchool Mr. Boyd made great proficiency in his ſtudies; and his aſtoniſhing memory, no leſs than his prompt diſcernment, and fine taſte, excited the admiration of all who knew him. Yet the praiſes which were laviſhed upon him, did not infuſe into his diſpoſition any thing of that vanity or petulance, which eſtranges a boy from the love of his ſchool-fellows: his unaſſuming manner, together with his gentle but manly and ardent ſpirit, made him alike the favourite of his companions, and his maſter.

So early as the age of fourteen he was placed at the Trinity College, Dublin, and was entered a gentleman commoner of that ſeminary at the November term in 1760. About this time he became known to the late Mr. Flood, who was then the greateſt ornament of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons; and whoſe eloquence firſt produced in Mr. Boyd's mind that deſire of attending parliamentary debates which ſo much diſtinguiſhed his future life. The attention with which he uſed to liſten to Mr. Flood's private

vate converſation, and the accurate reports which he uſed to make of his publick ſpeeches, induced that accompliſhed man to cheriſh thoſe riſing talents, which, in their maturity, he continued to befriend.

At college, he was as much remarked for his facility of acquiring, as for his power of retaining knowledge. Without ſeeming to attend to any thing but the pleaſures of ſociety, he made very conſiderable advances in literature and ſcience; and in claſſical learning he was equalled by few, and ſurpaſſed by none of his fellow-ſtudents. He poſſeſſed, indeed, many peculiar advantages in the courſe of his ſtudies. His father, who was himſelf a man of great information, attended to the cultivation of his ſon's mind with the utmoſt care, and ſpared no expence whatever in his education; for he appointed as his tutors, firſt Mr. Marten, and then Mr. Kearney, both men of literary eminence at that time in Dublin, and of great reſpectability in private life. Mr. Marten uſed to characterize his pupil, by ſaying, "that he united the meekneſs of the lamb, with the ſpirit of the lion."

In

In 1765, he took his degree of Maſter of Arts; and his grandfather, Boyd, whoſe affection for him grew with his years, wiſhed him to enter into the Church: but the death of that virtuous and venerable man, which happened the ſame year, induced him to turn his thoughts to a profeſſion more congenial to the native vivacity of his mind. He accordingly fixed on the army; but his father being deſirous he ſhould go into the infantry, and he preferring the cavalry, ſome delay in conſequence took place, and before the matter was decided, Mr. Macauley died in 1766, of an illneſs of only a few days: and no WILL being found among his papers, Mr. Boyd was left totally unprovided for, the whole of the family eſtate being ſettled by right of inheritance on the eldeſt ſon.

As this ſudden and unexpected loſs daſhed his hopes of riſing in the army, he relinquiſhed his deſign of purſuing that line of life; and his attachment to literature and politicks led him to chooſe the law, as the profeſſion, with which, above all others, his favourite ſtudies were the moſt intimately connected,

connected, and in which, therefore, he could attend to them, without neglecting his duty.

With these views, he left his native country, a few months after the death of his father, and came to London, in search of fortune and fame. In hopes of procuring the patronage of the late Marquis, then Earl of Hertford, to whom his father had rendered many important and acknowledged services, he called at his Lordship's house, shortly after his arrival. But that noble lord was possessed of such peculiar *delicacy* of *feeling* and *sentiment*, that he shrunk from an interview with the son of his deceased friend; who frequently waited on him without once gaining admittance to his presence. The *worthy* earl's behaviour, however, appeared no way surprising to Mr. Boyd, whose early acquaintance with the world had enabled him to form a competent judgment of the motives and actions of men. He was little discouraged, therefore, by this circumstance; and the respectability of his family, together with the elegance of his deportment, as well as the insinuating politeness of his address, soon procured him an introduction

duction into the gay circles of fashionable life; nor was he long unnoticed in the literary sphere. He became acquainted with Goldsmith, Doctor Armstrong, and David Garrick, who had then reached the summit of their fame, and with whom he ever afterwards continued in habits of intimacy. About this time he also became acquainted with the celebrated Mrs. Macauley, to whose husband he was related. Charmed with his wit and talents, she frequently invited him to her house, and there he had constant opportunities of mixing in the conversation of the most distinguished geniuses of the age. In fashionable society he was first noticed by Lord Effingham, Lord Verney, and Sir Francis Delaval, and afterwards by the old Duke of Ancaster, and the Earl of Ashburnham. His great skill at the game of chess, added to his other acquirements, made the two last-mentioned noblemen court his company with the utmost solicitude; and through them he was elected a member of the well-known chess-club to which they belonged, and of which he soon became the next best player to Count Bruhl, the

the Saxon Envoy. He was ſo great a favourite of the old Duke's, that he was always aſked to the ſplendid and ſumptuous dinners, which his Grace took ſuch delight in giving. At one of theſe entertainments, he chanced to ſit next to Soame Jenyns, with whoſe converſation he was ſo much gratified, that when the reſt of the company adjourned at an early hour to the cheſs-room, as it was the Duke's cuſtom, he whiſpered to Jenyns, that a bottle of *old port* might tend as much to make them better known to each other, as a game at cheſs:—Jenyns readily took the hint, and the evening was ſpent very much to their mutual ſatisfaction.

Yet this mode of life did not ſeduce him from his books. He cultivated politicks and polite literature with the utmoſt aſſiduity: and if he beſtowed not an equal attention on the ſeverer ſtudies of the law, it is to be attributed partly to the livelineſs of his fancy, and partly to the neceſſity he was under of providing for the day that was paſſing over him, rather than to any want of application.

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The inborn generoſity of his mind, together with his exquiſite ſenſibility, prompted him to acts of benevolence, which his ſcanty and precarious income was ill ſuited to ſupply; and before he had been a year in London, he was involved in pecuniary entanglements, from which, alas! he was never at any period of his life to be entirely releaſed. The perplexed ſtate of his mind, however, ſoured not the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, nor clouded his wonted gaiety. All his ſorrows were locked faſt in his breaſt, and no one could diſcover, either by his countenance, or his manners, that he laboured under the ſmalleſt uneaſineſs.

This happy ſuavity of temper, joined to his dignified urbanity and chaſtened humour, rendered him an univerſal favourite among the fair ſex. Nor was he unmindful of their admiration. He paid his addreſſes to Miſs MORPHY, a young lady altogether worthy of his noble mind, and after an acquaintance of one year and ſome weeks, he married her in December 1767. By this marriage his circumſtances were made ſomewhat eaſier, as Miſs Morphy poſſeſſed a

handſome competency, and as her good ſenſe and many amiable qualities often availed to moderate, if not to reſtrain thoſe extravagancies to which he was unfortunately ſo prone.

Through his marriage he became known to the three Mr. Neſbets, who were Mrs. Boyd's guardians, and to their nephew the preſent Mr. John Neſbet, member for Gatton, as well as to the late Mr. Robert Cooper Lee. To the two laſt-mentioned gentlemen, Mr. Boyd was under the greateſt obligations, and the active friendſhip which they on all occaſions manifeſted for him, deſerves the higheſt praiſe.

About this period he alſo fell into the acquaintance of the late Mr. JOHN STUART, of Hampſtead, a gentleman who poſſeſſed a mind congenial to his own, whoſe ardent and diſintereſted friendſhip knew no bounds but virtue and honour, and whoſe affection for him continued to glow with undiminiſhed warmth to the laſt moment of his life *.

Perhaps

* The talents, no leſs than the virtues of Mr. STUART, would have entitled him to my particular praiſe, if gratitude

Perhaps there never was a friendſhip more durable and ſincere, than that which ſubſiſted

tude for his friendly attentions towards me did not call forth the warmeſt tribute of my heart.

He was deſcended from the reſpectable family of Sir Simeon Stuart, who were a branch of the royal ſtem of the Stuarts, and who came to England with JAMES the Firſt, and ſettled in Northamptonſhire, in which county his father reſided, and he was born. He was ſent to ſchool at Northampton, and afterwards ſtudied phyſic at Edinburgh, where he took his degree as Doctor of Medicine. On his return to England, he was appointed one of the phyſicians to the army in Canada, under General Wolfe, and was preſent at the battle of Quebec. He had lived on terms of friendſhip with that diſtinguiſhed general, and his regard for him was ſo ſtrong, that he never talked of his eminent abilities, and early, but glorious death, without tears in his eyes. Upon the concluſion of the war in 1763, he ſettled at Philadelphia in the line of his profeſſion, and entered into partnerſhip with Mr. Lauchlin Macleane, who was afterwards ſecretary to Lord Shelburne. In this buſineſs they were very ſucceſsful, and would have acquired an immenſe fortune, if an affair of gallantry between Macleane and one of their *fair patients*, had not obliged them to make a precipitate retreat acroſs the Atlantic. On their arrival in England they kept houſe together in London, and lived for ſome time in a very ſplendid ſtyle: but Macleane, who was not yet ſatisfied, gambled both in the Alley and in St. James's-ſtreet, and not only ſpent his own fortune, but ſo ſeverely injured

ſubſiſted between theſe two accompliſhed men.

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Mr. Stuart's, as to render it neceſſary for him to retrench his expences, and totally alter his mode of life. About this time he travelled into France for the recovery of his health, and while at Paris, he became acquainted with David Hume and Adam Smith, who then reſided there, and who introduced him to the celebrated Literary Society of which Voltaire and D'Alembert were the moſt diſtinguiſhed members. On his return to England he fell into the acquaintance of Mr. Laurence Sullivan, who ſo often filled the chair at the India Houſe; and through his intereſt was much employed in Indian affairs. He now relinquiſhed his original profeſſion; and having ſtill a handſome fortune, he took a houſe at Hampſtead, with about ſix acres of ground adjoining to it, which he formed into a garden, and laid out with exquiſite taſte. To this place he was extremely attached, and here he chiefly reſided during the remainder of his life, enjoying the ſociety of friends reſpectable for their underſtanding, learning, and virtues, and living with a degree of complacency and happineſs which human frailty very rarely attains. In December 1798, he was ſeized with a ſevere complaint in his lungs, which, after a few weeks, proved fatal, and he died in the beginning of January following, in the 65th year of age.

He was a man of a tall and graceful figure, dignified in his deportment, and elegant in his mien; of a countenance open, animated, and cheerful, uncommonly engaging when relaxed by gaiety, pleaſant even when overcaſt

by

In the ſummer of 1768, Mr. Boyd went to Ireland for a few months, on ſome private

by care. Thoſe who knew him fifty years ago, uſed to ſay he was the handſomeſt man they had ever ſeen; and though age and ſickneſs had enfeebled his conſtitution, the alteration which they had made in his appearance was wonderfully ſlight.

He poſſeſſed a vigorous and highly cultivated underſtanding, a quick and accurate diſcernment, a ſound and diſcriminating judgment, a lively fancy, a tenacious memory, and a refined taſte. His acquirements were very extenſive and various. He was equally ſkilled in the phyſical and moral ſciences, in abſtruſe learning, and in the fine arts. In moſt ſubjects he was deeply read, of every one he had a general knowledge. Having mixt much with the world, he had attained great proficiency in the important ſtudy of human life, and his obſervations on men and manners, though ſometimes ſevere, were, for the moſt part, juſt, ſtriking, and forcible. His converſation was at once pleaſing and inſtructive, and he uſed to relate anecdotes, of which he had an inexhauſtible ſtore, with a peculiar felicity and eaſe. His manners were poliſhed, affable, and inſinuating, and though his temper was ſomewhat irritable, yet was his diſpoſition mild and placable, and his heart ſuſceptible of the utmoſt tenderneſs. He uniformly practiſed the moſt prompt and liberal charity, regulated by an enlightened prudence, and a dignified œconomy. In his mode of life he was alike diſtant from extravagance and parſimony; he was too conſiderate to fall into the one, too generous not to deſpiſe the other. It

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vate buſineſs. During his ſtay in Dublin, he was conſtantly in the company of Mr. Flood, who, on that, as on every other occaſion, ſhewed him the greateſt poſſible attention, and who thought ſo highly of his abilities, that he every where talked of him as a prodigy of genius.

At this period political parties ran very high in Ireland, and the newſpapers were filled with controverſies, in which men of the firſt talents in the kingdom were engaged. One evening, while Mr. Flood ſat at his own table, after dinner, entertaining a large company, *of which Mr. Boyd was one*, he received an anonymous note, encloſing a letter on the ſtate of parties, ſigned SINDERCOMBE. The note contained a requeſt, that Mr. Flood would peruſe the encloſed letter, and that if it met his approbation, he

was his chief ambition to maintain independence, to be of uſe to his friends, and to relieve indigent merit wherever he met it. And at the cloſe of his long and well-ſpent life, it appeared to me, that his virtuous ambition was completely ſatisfied. Careſſed by his friends, admired by his acquaintance, and beloved by his ſervants and dependents, his death was deeply regretted by all who knew him, and his memory lives in their eſtimation.

would

would get it publiſhed. Mr. Flood read it to the company, who declared, with one burſt of applauſe, that it ſhould be ſent immediately to the printer. It conſequently appeared in a morning paper*, and produced

* Notwithſtanding my moſt diligent inquiries, I have not been able to find the particular Paper in which this letter appeared; and I have conſequently ſpoken of its merits from the opinion of others.

Thoſe who were not particularly converſant with our hiſtory during the commonwealth, were at a loſs to diſcover what the author alluded to, by adopting the ſignature of *Sindercombe*, and Boyd uſed to ſhew great anxiety to explain it to them, whenever the ſubject was talked of. *Sindercombe* was a perſon who had undertaken to murder OLIVER CROMWELL, but who was prevented from executing his purpoſe by ſeveral unaccountable accidents. At laſt CROMWELL diſcovered him, and he was tried, convicted, and condemned; but the voice of the people was raiſed ſo high in his favour, that the *Protector* deemed it prudent to diſpatch him privately, and he was found dead in his bed on the morning which had been appointed for his execution. CROMWELL artfully gave it out, that *Sindercombe* had poiſoned himſelf, leſt the people ſhould take the alarm; but it appears evident, from the concurrent teſtimony of the moſt reſpectable writers of that time, that CROMWELL had given *Barkſtead* poſitive orders to ſmother him in bed. HUME treats this ſubject rather more lightly than it deſerves, and gives credit to the ſtory of

duced a very ſtrong ſenſation on the public mind, as well from the clear and forcible reaſoning

of the poiſon. The famous *Colonel* TITUS, in his ſpirited little pamphlet, intitled *Killing no Murder*, beſtows the following eulogium on *Sindercombe*.

"The brave *Sindercombe* has ſhewn as great a mind, as any old Rome could boaſt of; and had he lived there, his name had been regiſtered with *Brutus* and *Cato*, and he had his ſtatues as well as they.

"But I will not have ſo ſiniſter an opinion of ourſelves (as little generoſity as ſlavery hath left us) as to think ſo great a virtue can want its monuments even among us. Certainly in every virtuous mind, there are ſtatues reared to *Sindercombe*. Whenever we read the elogies of thoſe that have died for their country; when we admire thoſe great examples of magnanimity, that have tired tyrants cruelties; when we extol their conſtancy, whom neither bribe nor terrors could make betray their friends, it is then we erect *Sindercombe* ſtatues, and grave him monuments; where all that can be ſaid of a great and noble mind, we juſtly make an epitaph for him: and though the tyrant cauſed him to be ſmothered, leſt the people ſhould hinder an open murder, yet he never will be able to ſmother his memory, or his own villany. His poiſon was but a poor and common device, to impoſe only on thoſe that underſtood not tyrants practices, and are unacquainted (if any be) with his cruelties and falſehoods. He may, therefore, if he pleaſe, take away the ſtake from *Sindercombe*'s grave, and if he have a mind it ſhould be known how he died, let him ſend thither the pillows and feather beds with which

reaſoning it contained, as from the uncommon beauty and energy of its ſtyle. Every endeavour was made, without effect, to diſcover the author. That Flood ſuſpected Mr. Boyd is extremely probable; but I know not that he ever hinted ſuch a ſuſpicion to any one. Mrs. Boyd always thought that Sindercombe was her huſband's production, from ſeveral circumſtances which no one elſe poſſeſſed the means of obſerving; and many years afterwards, ſhe was ſatisfied that her conjecture was founded in fact: though Mr. Boyd himſelf, never, either acknowledged or denied, that he was the author. This doubtleſs was his firſt attempt at preſerving that ſecrecy in his political writings, in which he was always ſo ſucceſsful, as well as his firſt eſſay in that ſpecies of literary compoſition, in which he afterwards ſo much excelled.

which *Barkſtead* and his hangman ſmothered him. But to conclude, let not this monſter think himſelf the more ſecure that he has ſuppreſſed one great ſpirit, he may be confident that *longus poſt illum ſequitur ordo idem petentium decus.*"

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A few days subsequent to the publication of Sindercombe, Mr. Boyd returned to London; and in the autumn of 1768, he took a house in Great Marlborough-street, in which he lived for some years in a very genteel style, though he never had yet been set free from the pecuniary encumbrances with which, since the death of his father, he had been constantly harrassed. About this time, however, he received some small addition to his income, by the death of his cousin Adam Boyd. His grandfather Boyd, had, in his will, bequeathed to him, failing of his cousin, a freehold estate, in the county of Antrim, on the condition, enjoined in the strictest manner, of changing his name from Macauley to Boyd. In conformity, therefore, with the will of his grandfather, he now adopted the name of Boyd, and became possessed of this estate, the gross rental of which amounted to £600 *per ann.*; but the several annuities with which it was burthened, together with the litigations to which some of them gave rise, reduced that sum to a mere trifle, and the estate being entailed

entailed to the heirs male of his body, he could neither ſell any part of it, nor even grant a ſingle ſecurity upon it, in order to liquidate thoſe debts that were in the firſt inſtance contracted by the unfortunate neceſſities, and peculiar hardſhips of his early youth.

Yet theſe were matters which gave him hardly any concern. He was ever more anxious about the affairs of his friends, than his own: and he has frequently plunged himſelf into difficulties, to ſave the credit, or to relieve the diſtreſs of the man he loved. A mind ſo conſtituted, was not to be ruffled by ordinary adverſities; and bleſſed beyond moſt men in the matrimonial connection he had formed, he enjoyed the utmoſt ſerenity amidſt the ſtorms of life, and the greateſt content and happineſs, notwithſtanding the vexations and embarraſſments by which he was ſurrounded.

It was this tranquil and eaſy temper, no leſs than his ſanguine conſtitution, that enabled him to call into action all the ſpirit and vigour of his mind, whenever he thought proper to exert them, and at the ſame

ſame time to beſtow the moſt watchful attention and pertinacious diligence, on whatever buſineſs he was induced to undertake. But his early attachment to politicks became every day more ſtrong, and neither the hope of emolument, nor the earneſt entreaties of his friends, could incite him to purſue the law profeſſionally, though he had attained conſiderable knowledge both of its principles and practice. He, therefore, dedicated his whole time to politicks and literature; and towards the latter end of the year 1768, he commenced a correſpondence with the daily paper, entitled the *Publick Advertiſer*, at that time conducted by Mr. HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL, which he kept up with the greateſt caution, and the moſt impenetrable ſecrecy, for three years and ſome months. The nature and purport of this correſpondence he never diſcloſed to any one of his friends, not even to Mrs. Boyd; and he died in poſſeſſion of his ſecret. Mrs. Boyd, however, has long been convinced, from a variety of ſtrong concurring circumſtances, that this ſecret was nothing leſs than his being the writer of

of thoſe celebrated Letters which appeared in the *Publick Advertiſer*, under the ſignature of JUNIUS, during the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and in January 1772.

This being a matter, not only of great importance to Mr. Boyd as a writer, but alſo, of no ſmall curioſity in the Hiſtory of Engliſh Literature, I have thought it incumbent on me to fathom it with the utmoſt attention, to inveſtigate every channel of intelligence connected with it, and finally, to aſcertain whether the ſuppoſition, that he was the author of the letters of *Junius*, be founded in truth. The ſum of my inquiries impreſſes me with the firmeſt conviction that Mr. Boyd was, in reality, the writer of thoſe letters; for although there be no direct poſitive proof, yet are the internal, as well as circumſtantial evidence ſo ſtrong, that no candid man of taſte or judgment will deny me the concluſion I have drawn.

This ſubject has already been noticed by Mr. ALMON, in his "Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes," and it has been ſlightly touched upon in the Preface to a former edition of Mr. Boyd's Life. Since

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the publication of these works, Mr. GEORGE CHALMERS * has informed the public, that "he has collected documents † which completely satisfy him that Mr. Boyd was the author of *Junius;*" and this declaration of Mr. Chalmers gave rise to a ‡ controversy in the newspapers which has attracted some attention.

Those who have maintained that Mr. Boyd was not the writer of the letters signed *Junius,* have produced only one argument in support of their opinion, which has even the faintest colour of plausibility. They affirm, that his abilities and information were altogether unequal to the task of composing those letters, and that his essays in the "Indian Observer," are every way so inferior to them, that it is not to be believed they could both have been written by the same person. In the first instance, therefore, I shall meet them upon their own

* See the Postscript to his "Supplemental Apology."

† I understand it is Mr. Chalmers's intention speedily to publish these documents.

‡ For an account of this controversy, see the Appendix to the Life.

ground,

ground, and from internal evidence ſatisfactorily eſtabliſh the fact, that he was fully capable of writing the letters of *Junius*. And as to the inferiority of his papers in the "Indian Obſerver," admitting that inferiority, for the ſake of argument, in a much wider latitude than truth obliges me to grant, it is yet merely a vulgar error to ſuppoſe, that becauſe a man has once written well, he can never, under any circumſtances, write ill; and that becauſe a great genius has written with peculiar beauty and energy on one particular ſubject, he muſt of neceſſity always diſplay, at leaſt an obvious reſemblance of the like excellence, in all his ſubſequent productions. Such a ſuppoſition, though ſomewhat plauſible, is in fact, utterly fallacious, and can be entertained only by thoſe who have a very ſuperficial knowledge of the conſtitution of the human mind, as well as a limited acquaintance with literature. It is a ſophiſm, which a due inquiry into the philoſophy of criticiſm, and an examination of the different writings of ſome eminent men, would very fully expoſe, but which, in the preſent inſtance,

ſtance, I think I cannot more ſatisfactorily refute, than in the nervous language of Doctor Johnſon. "There are," ſays he, "many poſſible cauſes of that inequality "which we may *ſo frequently* obſerve in "the performances of the ſame man, from "the influence of which no ability or induſ-"try is ſufficiently ſecured, and which have "ſo often ſullied the ſplendour of genius, that "the wit, as well as the conqueror, may be "properly cautioned not to indulge his pride "with too early triumphs, but to defer to "the end of his life, his eſtimate of happineſs. "****** Though we ſuppoſe that a man "by his fortune can avoid the neceſſity of "dependence, and by his ſpirit can repel "the uſurpations of patronage, yet he may "eaſily, by writing *long*, happen to write "*ill*. There is a general ſucceſſion of "events, in which contraries are produced "by periodical viciſſitudes; labour and "care are rewarded by ſucceſs, ſucceſs pro-"duces confidence, confidence relaxes in-"duſtry, and negligence ruins that reputa-"tion which accuracy had raiſed.

"He

" He that happens not to be lulled by " praiſe into ſupineneſs, may be animated " by it to undertakings above his ſtrength, " or incited to fancy himſelf alike qualified " for every kind of compoſition, and able " to comply with the publick taſte through " all its variations. By ſome opinion like " this, many men have been engaged at an " advanced age, in attempts which they " had not time to complete, and after a few " weak efforts, ſunk into the grave with " vexation to ſee the riſing generation gain " ground upon them. From theſe failures " the higheſt genius is not exempt; that " judgment which appears ſo penetrating, " when it is employed on the works of " others, very often fails where intereſt or " paſſion can exert their power. We are " blinded in examining our own labours by " innumerable prejudices. Our juvenile " compoſitions pleaſe us, becauſe they bring " to our minds the remembrance of youth; " our later performances we are ready to " eſteem, becauſe we are unwilling to think " we have made no improvement; what flows " eaſily from the pen charms us, becauſe

" we read with pleaſure that which flatters " our opinion of our own powers; what " was compoſed with great ſtruggles of the " mind we do not eaſily reject, becauſe we " cannot bear that ſo much labour ſhould " be fruitleſs. But, the reader has none of " theſe prepoſſeſſions, and *wonders* that the " author is ſo *unlike himſelf*, without con- " ſidering that the *ſame ſoil* will, with " *different culture*, afford *different pro-* " *ducts* *."

To demonſtrate the truth of theſe obſervations, many examples might be adduced; but I know of none more ſtriking than that which is afforded in the writings of Mr. Boyd, now preſented to the publick. Every one who compares the letters of the *Whig*, or *Freeholder*, with the eſſays in the *Indian Obſerver*, muſt not only be ſatisfied that the ſame man, on different ſubjects, and in a different ſituation, has written in ſtyles totally diſſimilar, but alſo that the author of theſe productions poſſeſſed very uncommon abilities, as well as great powers of language and compoſition. Thus the only

* See the *Rambler*, No. 21.

argument

argument of thoſe, who have aſſerted that Mr. Boyd was not *Junius*, entirely falls to the ground; and they muſt now take up a poſition which they will find ſtill leſs tenable, and contend that the letters of the *Freeholder* and *Whig*, are ſo unlike thoſe of *Junius*, that they cannot be the productions of the ſame mind.

I believe every man of ſenſe and obſervation who has read the letters of *Junius* with critical attention, and who will carefully compare them with the *Freeholder*, will at once admit, that in both, the principles and opinions, the mode of reaſoning, the ſtyle, and the ſpirit, are, with a few trifling exceptions, ſo exactly alike, that they muſt either have been written by the ſame author, or that the *Freeholder* is the beſt imitation of *Junius* that has yet appeared. I ſhall, however, endeavour to ſhew, that the ſimilarity between Mr. Boyd's political writings, publiſhed in this volume, and the letters of *Junius*, did not proceed from a vain deſire to imitate, but from a natural partiality to that caſt of thought and ſtructure of language, which he had choſen for the diſcuſſion of

political ſubjects, of which he had ſucceſsfully tried the effect on the publick mind, and to which, therefore, he was induced to adhere. At the ſame time I do not ſay it was an abſolute habit of the mind which he was unable to diſguiſe; for when it ſuited his ſubject and purpoſe, he could not only diſguiſe his general ſtyle, but alſo reach perfection in the particular one he adopted. Of this we have an eminent and ſtriking inſtance in the Preface* to his *Abſtracts from Lord Chatham's Speeches*, wherein he has deſcribed the eloquence of that great man with a claſſical force, animation, and ſublimity, which partake of the exalted theme, and which, perhaps, have not been often ſurpaſſed. Yet is the ſtyle of this compoſition altogether ſo different from that of the *Freeholder*, or *Junius*, that the moſt diſcerning critic, will, I believe, be unable to diſcover any reſemblance between them. But to enable the reader the more readily to form a judgment on this point, I beg leave to contraſt the following paſſages from the *Freeholder* and the *Preface*.

* See page 247, of this volume.

FREE-

FREEHOLDER.

"We are no longer sunk in the dead repose of despotism and long parliaments. —Those stagnations of corruption and filth, shall no more poison the land. "*Alba nautis stella refulsit.*" The returning day-star of the constitution again illuminates the political hemisphere; and, in fulness of splendour, displays the glorious moment which restores to us our original rights. The power which we delegated, and the trust which we conferred, revert to us. The constitution regenerates. And the new birth inspires new vigour. As the giant received renovation of strength from touching his mother earth, so the rights of the people acquire new spring and force, when brought back to their original and parent source, the people's voice."

****** "Such, my friends, are the invaluable blessings now within our grasp. Such are the transcendant rewards now presented to us by the opportunity of an election. Power now returns to its genuine centre, the will of the people. It is theirs, and only theirs, again to put it in action, and to prescribe its operations. The vital blood ebbs back to the heart of the constitution.

PREFACE, &c.

"But the candour and imagination of the reader must supply another deficiency in our representation of Lord CHATHAM's oratory, more affecting our purpose of exhibiting its true likeness, than the partial imperfection we have mentioned. Those who have been witnesses to the wonders of his eloquence — who have listened to the musick of his voice, or trembled at its majesty—who have seen the persuasive gracefulness of his action, or have felt its force; —those who have caught the flame of eloquence from his eye—who have rejoiced in the glories of his countenance, or shrunk from his frowns,—will remember the resistless power with which he impressed conviction. In these sketches of his original genius, they will read what they have heretofore heard; and their memory will give due action to the picture, by refiguring to their minds, what they have with admiration seen. But to those who never heard nor saw this accomplished orator, the utmost effort of imagination will be necessary to form a just idea of that combination of excellence, which gave perfection to his eloquence:—his elevated aspect commanding the awe and

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tion*. Let us imitate the wisdom of nature, and we shall attain its successful effects. Let us give the vital streams again to flow, through their constitutional channels. So shall the health of the whole body be restored, and its strength established. Every part of it shall revive and flourish; and the ghastly countenance of poverty and servitude shall brighten into the smile of happiness, and the triumph of liberty."—

mute attention of all who beheld him: whilst a certain grace in his manner, conscious of all the dignities of his situation, of the solemn scene he acted in, as well as his own exalted character, seemed to acknowledge and repay the respect he received:—his venerable form bowed with infirmity and age; but animated by a mind which nothing could subdue:—his spirit shining through him, arming his eye with lightning, and clothing his lips with thunder;—or if milder topicks offered, harmonizing his countenance in smiles, and his voice in softness; for the compass of his powers was infinite. As no idea was too vast, no imagination too sublime, for the grandeur and majesty of his manner; so no fancy was too playful, nor any allusion too comic, for the ease and gaiety with which he could accommodate to the occasion. But the character of his oratory was dignity: this presided throughout; giving force, because securing respect, even to his sallies of pleasantry. This elevated the most familiar language, and gave novelty and grace to the most familiar allusions; so that, in his hand, even the crutch became a weapon of oratory.—*Telum Oratoris.*"

Thus

* This appears to have been a favourite figure of Mr. Boyd's. In the Indian Observer he applies it no less happily than in the present instance. In talking of the circulation of commerce, he says, "The "rich streams that have flowed "through the arteries of protected "trade, return through the grateful "veins, to support the source from "whence they issued." And it is peculiarly deserving of observation, that this metaphor is used by no other author except *Junius*, who in exhorting the kingdom at large to follow the example which the city of London had given them, by petitioning the King to dissolve the parliament, observes, "That the noble spirit of the me-"tropolis is the life-blood of the "state, collected at the heart; from "that point it circulates with health "and vigour through every artery "of the constitution."

Thus we perceive, that Mr. Boyd could rise into eloquence and dignity in two very different styles, and that he could infuse into each that generous ardour which its subject inspired. In the *Freeholder* is to be observed the same structure of the sentences, the same transitions, the same fertility and happiness of allusion, the same chaste application of metaphors, and the same method of introducing them; the same concise vigour, the same brilliant animation, and above all, the same terse phraseology which are the characteristick features of *Junius*'s style. On the other hand, we admire in the *Preface*, the ease and amplification of the periods, the spirit with which they are kept up, the rapid flow of the sentiments, the copious energy of the language, the boldness, yet correctness of the figures, the critical accuracy of the discrimination, and finally, the classical beauty and elegance of the description. In both are displayed very considerable genius, exquisite taste, and great facility of composition—and it will be found on a perusal of his political writings, that these qualities predominate throughout the whole of them.

But

But in order to ſhew in the ſtrongeſt point of view, the affinity between the reaſoning and compoſition of thoſe writings and the letters of *Junius*, I ſhall cite a few paſſages from both, and point out the model on which their general ſtyle was undoubtedly formed. It is, however, neceſſary to premiſe one or two facts, concerning the time and care which were beſtowed on the productions of *Junius*, and the hurry or negligence with which the other papers were written. Beſides, the internal evidence which the letters of *Junius* themſelves afford of their being compoſed with great labour and attention, we have his own declaration to that effect, expreſſed in pretty plain terms. In his ſecond letter in reply to Mr. HORNE, he aſks, "Is there no merit in dedicating my life to "the information of my fellow-ſubjects?" ****** "Is there *no labour* in the *compo-* "*ſition* of theſe letters? Mr. Horne, I fear, "is partial to me, and meaſures the facility "of my writings, by the fluency of his own." Now it is a poſitive fact, that the papers of the *Freeholder*, on the contrary, were written

ten in the moſt hurried manner, on the very ſpur of the occaſion they were deſigned to ſerve, and in the midſt of all the confuſion, diſſipation, and riot, incident to an Iriſh election; and it is alſo a fact equally well authenticated, that the letters of *Democraticus*, and of the *Whig*, were compoſed without the ſmalleſt preparation, ſtudy, or attention: for after the month of January 1772, he never wrote for the publick with any care, nor even with his accuſtomed ſecrecy. The articles which he ſent from time to time to Mr. Woodfall and Mr. Almon, were written merely to gratify his ruling paſſion for politicks, and not with a view to arreſt the publick attention: they coſt him little time, and leſs labour. Theſe writings are, therefore, by conſequence, leſs poliſhed than the letters of *Junius*, and in theſe he has almoſt wholly abſtained from that pungency of ſarcaſm and bitterneſs of perſonal ſatire, which, together with the replies that they provoked, were unqueſtionably the true cauſes of the unexampled popularity of thoſe letters. But the ſame political princi-

ples,

ples, the ſame bold ſentiments of liberty, and preciſely the ſame opinions of publick meaſures and publick men, to which *Junius* invariably adhered, will be found uniformly avowed, and ſtrenuouſly maintained in the *Freeholder*, *Democraticus*, and the *Whig*. And here I muſt remind the reader, that conſiſtency of opinion was *Junius*'s greateſt boaſt. In his reply to Mr. Horne already quoted, he ſays,—"But he (Mr. Horne) "aſſerts that he has traced me through a "variety of ſignatures. To make the diſ- "covery of any importance to his purpoſe, "he ſhould have proved, either that the "fictitious character of *Junius* has not been "conſiſtently ſupported, or, that the author "has maintained different principles under "different ſignatures. I cannot recal to my "memory the *numberleſs trifles I have writ-* "*ten;* but I rely on the conſciouſneſs of "my own integrity, and *defy him* to fix *any* "*colourable* charge of *inconſiſtency* upon "me."

That this uniformity of principles is ſtedfaſtly preſerved in the political letters now publiſhed,

publiſhed, will be beſt proved by a compariſon of the following paſſages.

FREEHOLDER.

Let me in the firſt place conjure you never to loſe ſight of the great fundamental principle, that YOU *are the origin of power*. Government was conſtituted *by* and *for* the people. This is the voice of reaſon and the right of humanity: and applies in theory to all the nations of the world. But it is our peculiar felicity to realize the ſpeculation, and to feel its actual bleſſings. — We are *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, free.

JUNIUS.

The power of King, Lords, and Commons, is not an arbitrary power. They are the truſtees, not the owners of the eſtate. *The fee-ſimple is in* US. They cannot *alienate*, they cannot *waſte*. When we ſay that the legiſlature is ſupreme, we mean that it is the higheſt power known to the conſtitution; that it is the higheſt in compariſon with the other ſubordinate powers eſtabliſhed by the laws.

So far we find the fundamental principles of civil government laid down by *Junius* and the *Freeholder*, are exactly the ſame: and in another place the *Freeholder* further ſays,— "Remember, my friends, that in the mo- "ment of election, you ſtand forth the im- "mediate guardians of your country."—*** "To her you owe an *original, unalienable,* "*eternal* duty. You are, therefore, abſo- "lutely, and unconditionally, free. Except "in the ſenſe, in which Omnipotence itſelf "is limited; by *wiſdom* and *virtue*."

With

With regard to the diſpute between Great Britain and the American Colonies, *Junius* and the *Freeholder* expreſs themſelves in the following terms.

FREEHOLDER.

**** I maintain the innocence of America as to independent *views*; which if ſhe now entertains, we can only blame our own infatuation that has compelled her. The point of view I wiſh to take, is the ſtate of America previous to the repeal of the ſtamp-act. She was then, according to the language of parliamentary journals, "*in outrageous rebellion.*" To reſtore the happineſs and connexion of both countries, a repeal of that act was propoſed.**** It was reſtored; and would have been eſtabliſhed, but for our fatal relapſe into our former folly. About two years afterwards, the attempt at internal taxation was revived; and what was perhaps ſtill more vexatious, was continued, at a memorable period which ſoon followed, though Lord Hilſborough had, in the name of all the miniſters, expreſsly diſclaimed it, in his publick letter to the Colonies. The violence and folly which have ever ſince diſgraced our

JUNIUS.

A ſeries of inconſiſtent meaſures has alienated the Colonies from their duty as ſubjects, and from their natural affection to their common country.****—Under one adminiſtration the ſtamp-act is made; under the ſecond it is repealed; under the third, in ſpite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a queſtion revived which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In theſe circumſtances a new office is eſtabliſhed for the buſineſs of the plantations, and the Earl of Hilſborough is called forth at a moſt critical ſeaſon to govern America.**** Since that period they (meaning the Colonies) have been *driven* into exceſſes little ſhort of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne; and the continuance of one of the principal aſſemblies reſted upon an arbitrary condition, which, conſidering the temper they were in, it was impoſſible they ſhould comply with; and

FREEHOLDER.

our councils and our arms, are not to our preſent purpoſe; which is only to prove the peaceful and obedient diſpoſition of America, from which ſhe was *driven* by the revival of our oppreſſions.

JUNIUS.

and which would have availed nothing as to the general queſtion, if it had been complied with.

Theſe extracts ſufficiently ſhew, the conformity of opinion between *Junius* and the *Freeholder* to the facts they have ſtated. Let us ſee how well their opinions and language tally upon a very material point in the American queſtion.

FREEHOLDER.

It is particularly obſervable that the Colonies only complain of the *arbitrary practice* of univerſal taxation, and not of the *general principle*. For in all their applications, either to King or Parliament, they never require the repeal of the Declaratory Act, which eſtabliſhes that principle: but it intends it, however, as all principles ought to be intended, to be acted upon with equity and moderation. The ſupreme power and right of Great Britain is there declared, in all caſes whatever. And it may be

JUNIUS.

Junius conſiders the right of taxing the Colonies, by an act of the Britiſh Legiſlature, as a *ſpeculative right* merely, never to *be exerted*, nor ever to *be renounced*. To his judgment it appears plain, that the general reaſonings which were employed againſt that power, went directly to our whole legiſlative right; and that one part of it could not be yielded to ſuch arguments, without a virtual ſurrender of all the reſt,

This

FREEHOLDER.

admitted to exiſt in all caſes, either external or internal. But the Declaratory Act does not, *cannot ſay*, that it equally exiſts at all times, *and for all purpoſes.*

This is a point upon which there was much contrariety of opinion among the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of the American war. LORD CHATHAM conſidered the Britiſh legiſlature as not ſupreme over the colonies in the ſame ſenſe in which it is ſupreme over the mother-country. Mr. BURKE and the ROCKINGHAM party ſupported the entire ſupremacy of the imperial legiſlature of Great Britain, as ſtated in the Declaratory Act, while they condemned the exerciſe of that ſupremacy for the purpoſe of internal taxation; and ſome other gentlemen of great talents poſitively denied the exiſtence of any ſpeculative right whatever in the Britiſh parliament to levy taxes in the colonies. The diſtinction, ſtated with ſo much preciſion, by *Junius*, is ſomewhat peculiar; it was ſtrongly combated at the time; and as far as I have had an opportunity of examining the

the different ſpeeches and writings on this ſubject, I have not found it *exactly* maintained any where elſe but in the *Freeholder*. The *Freeholder* ſpecifically declares, that the *right* to tax the Colonies exiſts in all caſes either *external* or *internal*, but that it does *not* exiſt for *all purpoſes*, and ſhould never be *arbitrarily exerciſed*. This is, in other words, the very diſtinction made by *Junius*. The ſpirit of the two paſſages above quoted is preciſely the ſame.

Upon another queſtion of the utmoſt delicacy, *Junius* delivered an opinion which was then, and is now extremely unpopular, which excited a great deal of clamour among thoſe who ſtyled themſelves the *friends of the People*, but to which the *Freeholder* implicitly ſubſcribes. "I have a claim," ſays *Junius*, "to the candid interpretation of "my country, when I acknowledge an *in-* "*voluntary compulſive* aſſent, to one very "unpopular opinion. I lament the unhappy "neceſſity, whenever it ariſes, of providing "for the ſafety of the ſtate, by a temporary in- "vaſion of the perſonal liberty of the ſubject. "Would to God! it were practicable to "reconcile

" reconcile theſe important objects, in every " poſſible ſituation of publick affairs! I " regard the *legal liberty* of the meaneſt " man in Britain as much as my own, and " would defend it with the ſame zeal. I " know we muſt ſtand or fall together. But " I never *can doubt* that the community has " a *right* to *command*, as well as to purchaſe " the ſervice of its members. I ſee that right " founded originally upon a neceſſity which " *ſuperſedes all argument*. I ſee it eſtabliſh- " ed by uſage immemorial, and admitted by " *more* than a tacit aſſent of the legiſlature. " I conclude there is no remedy in the na- " ture of things for the grievance com- " plained of; for, if there were, it muſt " long ſince have been redreſſed. Though " numberleſs opportunities have preſented " themſelves, highly favourable to publick " liberty, no ſucceſsful attempt has ever " been made for the relief of the ſubject in " this article. Yet it has been felt and " complained of, ever ſince England had a " navy. The conditions which conſtitute this " right, muſt be taken together, ſeparately " they have little weight. It is not fair to " argue from any abuſe in the execution,

" to

" to the illegality of the power; much leſs
" is a concluſion to be drawn from the navy
" to t he land ſervice. The only caſe in
" which the King can have a right to arm
" his ſubjects in general, is that of a foreign
" force being actually landed on our coaſt.
" Whenever that caſe happens, no true
" Engliſhman will inquire, whether the
" King's right to compel him to defend his
" country, be the cuſtom of England, or a
" part of the legiſlature. With regard to
" the preſs for ſeamen, it does not follow
" that the ſymptoms may not be ſoftened,
" although the diſtemper cannot be cured.
" Let bounties be increaſed as far as the
" publick purſe can ſupport them. Still
" they have a limit; and when every rea-
" ſonable expence is incurred, it will be
" found in fact, that the ſpur of the preſs is
" wanted to give operation to the bounty."
—I have been induced to cite this paſſage at full length, on account of its intrinſick good ſenſe, and ſound policy. In the *Free-holder* this opinion is upheld in fewer words, but with as much force and clearneſs. Talking of the rights of the executive govern-

ment, it is obſerved, "That a right may "loſe its nature, and become the moſt odious "wrong, by unjuſt exertions. The King, "for inſtance, may *have a right* to *preſs* his "ſubjects, or a *particular part* of them, into "the *ſea-ſervice*. And the moſt conſtitu- "tional lawyers *decide ſo*. But even the "moſt hardened lawyer would bluſh to aſ- "ſert, and the tameſt ſlave would riſe to "reſiſt, a perpetual, unneceſſary, and op- "preſſive abuſe of it. *"

Thus it is manifeſt that the *Freeholder* entirely coincides with *Junius*, in every political principle, as well as on every political queſtion, which it ſuited his particular purpoſe to mention, or diſcuſs. His obſervations are, for the moſt part, confined to the main ſubject of his letters, the *right of free election*; and on that important topick, he not only agrees with *Junius*, but takes from him the mottos for his two firſt papers, and with admirable fineſſe commences his firſt one with the following ſeaſonable panegyrick. — "The *great* "*writer* whoſe words I have placed at the

* See the Preface to the *Freeholder*, p. 18, of this vol.

"head

" head of my paper, is juſtly acknowledged " to excel in ſplendour of imagery, and in " ſtrength of diction. But his excellence " extends to points ſtill more important. " No writer has inveſtigated with ſuch ſa- " gacity, nor with ſuch clearneſs pointed " out the true nature of our admirable " conſtitution. The wiſdom and learning " of LOCKE had aſcertained ſome great " fundamental maxims, which conſtituted, " or at leaſt contributed to form the baſis " of our liberties. But it remained for the " ſucceeding *addreſs* and *eloquence* of *Juni-* " *us*, to encounter and to ſubdue, at leaſt " in the fields of argument, the more re- " fined corruptions of later times." It may, at firſt ſight, ſeem irreconcileable with that modeſty which Mr. Boyd poſſeſſed, to beſtow ſuch high praiſe on his own productions. But if we inquire a little into the motives of human action, as well as into the peculiar circumſtances of the caſe before us, we ſhall be ſatisfied, that the above encomium is no way inconſiſtent with any of the qualities of his mind, and was in itſelf at once judicious and neceſſary.

Modeſty has been beautifully called, "the "grace of all the other virtues," and undoubtedly in proper time and place it is both becoming and ſalutary. When it ariſes from a native meekneſs of diſpoſition, it gives a pleaſing hue to the bloom of genius, as well as an inſinuating ſoftneſs to the countenance of virtue. This true modeſty is perfectly compatible with that ingenuous pride which proceeds from a conſciouſneſs of our own talents and integrity, and which diſdains the ridiculous affectation of forbearing to ſpeak of ourſelves, as we think and feel we deſerve, more eſpecially when we conceive the doing ſo will be productive of a publick benefit. But mankind are ſo much accuſtomed to that falſe modeſty which is made up of unmanly diffidence, vanity, and hypocriſy, that we are extremely apt to attribute to arrogance, that which flows from the moſt generous motives; and to reproach a man for ſelf-ſuffieiency, becauſe he has had the frankneſs to avow his opinion of his own merits. In truth, there is often much more vanity in concealing, than in openly aſſerting our own claims to publick applauſe:

applauſe: for as men, who are poſſeſſed of ſhining abilities, ſeldom under-rate them in their own eſtimation, and as well-earned praiſe is generally grateful to the mind, there is ſurely leſs oſtentation in a candid and dignified acknowledgment of the opinion we entertain of our own endowments, than in the ſtrained prudery too commonly practiſed, of talking humbly of them, and of affecting not to deſerve thoſe praiſes, for which, at the ſame moment, our hearts are ſecretly panting. The man who is prompted to great undertakings by a generous ambition, and who is guided in his purſuits by a love of glory and truth, ought not to conſider it in any degree inconſiſtent with real humility, to tell the world what he thinks of himſelf. So thought and ſo acted * the illuſtrious HUME, whoſe amiable and unaſſuming manners were as much eſteemed in private life, as his great talents have been admired by all mankind. And it was upon theſe principles that Mr. Boyd acted, when he made *Junius* praiſe his own

* See HUME's Life of himſelf, prefixed to the 1ſt vol. of his Hiſtory.

productions

productions in the following terms. "When "kings and miniſters are forgotten, when "the force and direction of perſonal ſatire "are no longer underſtood, and when mea- "ſures are only felt in their remoteſt conſe- "quences, this book will, I believe, be found "to contain principles worthy to be tranſ- "mitted to poſterity." * * * * * * "This is "not the *language of vanity.* If I am a "vain man, my gratification lies within a "very narrow circle. *I am the ſole depoſi- "tory of my own ſecret, and it ſhall periſh "with me.*"—In another place he ſays— "* * without meaning an indecent compa- "riſon, I may venture to foretel, that the "BIBLE and *Junius* will be read, when "the commentaries of the Jeſuits are for- "gotten."

But the eulogium on *Junius* in the *Free-holder*, may be defended on other grounds. He was well perſuaded of the efficacy of commencing thoſe letters, which were addreſſed to the freeholders of the county of Antrim, by openly profeſſing the ſame principles and opinions with the moſt popular political writer of the age: and at the ſame time

time he no doubt conceived that his high praiſe of *Junius* would do away the ſuſpicion, to which the ſimilitude of his ſtyle and ſentiments, to thoſe of the letters under that ſignature might very poſſibly give riſe. The aſtoniſhing impreſſion which his letters made on the minds of the people of Antrim, fully evinced both the utility and prudence of the plan he adopted. They were univerſally admired; and the *Freeholder* was called a *ſecond Junius*, by the moſt competent judges. Very diligent inquiries were made to find out the author; but as he was in this inſtance alſo the "*ſole depoſitory* "*of his own ſecret*," he was not diſcovered till many years afterwards, when a ſheet of the manuſcript which the printer had neglected to deſtroy was accidentally found, and in which ſome of Mr. Boyd's friends detected the hand-writing, although it was very much diſguiſed. He then acknowledged to Mrs. Boyd, that he had written the *Freeholder*.

With regard to publick characters, he has principally confined himſelf in the *Freeholder*, to the three gentlemen who ſtood candidates

candidates for the county of Antrim, at the general election in 1776; but his mode of examining the claims of each of these candidates, so much resembles the general manner of *Junius*, as well as the cast of his language, that I must point out two or three passages to the particular notice of the reader. He begins by quoting from BLACKSTONE, "*that no lord of parliament hath* "*any right to interfere in the election of com-* "*moners.*"—"This," says he, "is the law "of the land. Remember it, my coun- "trymen! revere it: maintain it. It is the "grand barrier of the constitution. While "it stands firm, you remain safely and in- "vincibly intrenched in your own privi- "leges. But if ever you surrender it to "the enemy, you are irretrievably ruined. "The democratick estate will be annihi- "lated out of the constitution: and you will "be melted down into a vile vassalage; the "devoted prey and plunder of your despo- "tick conquerors." The three candidates were the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, the Hon. Hugh Skeffington, and James Wilson, esq. Of the first he observes, "that "he

" he reſides in England; fixed there by con-
" nexion, by inclination, and by duty. His
" father is an Engliſh Earl, Lord Chamber-
" lain to his Majeſty's houſehold, and unalie-
" nably *attached* to the court. Poſſeſſed of
" an ample fortune in Ireland, he remem-
" bers that country only in the large remit-
" tances which he draws from her exhauſted
" boſom: unleſs indeed his attention be reviv-
" ed at the polite period of octennial conde-
" ſcenſion†." * * * * * " Beſides he is indiſ-
" penſibly faſtened to England, by his ſeat
" in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons. * * * *
" How then *can* he repreſent our county in
" an Iriſh parliament. He is not only, not
" an inhabitant of this place, and therefore an
" unconſtitutional candidate, but he is an ac-
" tual abſentee from this kingdom, and there-
" fore an *impoſſible* repreſentative. The ob-
" jection is inſuperable. It is not an intricate
" deduction of argument, to which perhaps
" ſpecious ſophiſtry might be oppoſed. It

† The length of this paſſage prevents me from quoting the whole of it: But the reader is referred to pages 44, 45, and 46, of this volume.

" is

" is an unanſwerable point of fact. He " *cannot* repreſent you."

Of Mr. Skeffington he ſays, " It is ob- " vious that I ſtudy to ſpeak gently of " this gentleman. Content with a negative " argument againſt his ſufficiency, I do not " alledge poſitive charges of betraying truſt. " I do not refer to venal majorities, blank " liſts, and the obedient *aye*, or *no*,—the ut- " moſt eloquence and ſervice of ſome repre- " ſentatives: I ſpeak not of uniform *devo- " tion to the court*, and to *courtly connexions:* " I only ſubmit to my countrymen, that in- " dependent of ſuch *poſitive guilt*, their duty " as freeholders obliges them to reject a can- " didate, who is obviouſly, and totally deſti- " tute of all requiſite qualifications.

" Permit me, in ſome meaſure to atone to " my own feelings, for the diſagreeable ne- " ceſſity of theſe publick truths, by a juſt " tribute to the private character of this " gentleman. As far as my knowledge of it " reaches, I gladly bear teſtimony to its be- " ing amiable, good-humoured, and friend- " ly. Nay, there is a ſpecies of delicacy in

" it,

" it, which reflects some honour on him as " a man; accompanied, alas! with an in- " firmity of mind which disgraces him as a " senator. For I have good authority to " say, that he laments the servitude of his " situation. We all know too well that he " cannot shake it off. He has sensibility to " feel the chain; without the spirit, the en- " terprize of mind, that should cast it away, " and dare to be free."

" Reflect now, my countrymen!—No- " thing can be wanting to your free exer- " tion of your privileges, and vindication of " your rights, on this great occasion; if " you give it deep and due attention. You " will then be convinced that your grandest " happiness, the true *summum bonum*, which " the ancients puzzled for in vain, your li- " berty, is at stake. Founded as it is, in " every virtue, you will confess it paramount " to every blessing. To point out the path " that leads to this glorious object, shall be " the more pleasing business of my succeed- " ing letters. Long enough have our eyes " ached over this *barren prospect:* where no " *verdure of virtue quickens*—no publick ser-

" vice

" vice is ſeen to bloſſom *. We will with " pleaſure turn our view and our choice " to a more fertile ſoil, pregnant with the " richeſt ſeeds; which wait only for the cul- " tivation of our favour to ripen into the " happieſt harveſt."

After recommending Mr. Wilſon to the freeholders of Antrim, as the only conſtitutional candidate of the three gentlemen who have been named, he proceeds to obſerve, " * * that in Mr. Wilſon's addreſs, two points " ſtand remarkably conſpicuous; the inde- " pendent teſt, which he propoſes to take " on the day of election; and the plan which " he ſuggeſts, to collect the ſenſe of his con- " ſtituents, for the regulation of his parlia- " mentary conduct. Theſe are eminent " features, and demand the niceſt attention " of the political phyſiognomiſt, who wiſhes

* This is preciſely the ſame figure, with which *Junius* begins his letter to Lord CAMDEN.

" My Lord,

" I turn with pleaſure from that *barren waſte*, in " which no ſalutary plant takes root—no *verdure quick-* " *ens*, to a character, fertile, as I willingly believe, in " every great and good qualification."

See *Junius*'s Letter to Lord Camden.

" to

" to trace the true lines of liberty, and to
" aſcertain the genuine ſon of the conſtitu-
" tion."

" Parliamentary teſts were always proper.
" Even in the purer days of ancient liberty,
" it was not unwiſe to *enforce*, by additional
" obligations, the faithfulneſs of the ſervant.
" It would never be thought unreaſonable,
" or ungenerous, to require from the agent,
" at leaſt a promiſe that he would act faith-
" fully for his employer. But what was
" right and reaſonable, in the moſt virtuous
" days, modern degeneracy has made abſo-
" lutely neceſſary. For, it is notorious,
" that not only the ſubſtance of patriotiſm
" is melting away, but its very name and
" memory are falling into obloquy and con-
" tempt. This noble quality, the ſublimeſt
" of moral virtues, as it approaches to the
" ſacred nature of religion herſelf, ſo muſt
" it expect to ſhare her abuſe, and ſuffer her
" misfortune. Hypocrites are daily detect-
" ed, who do not bluſh to proſtitute the
" ſacred character of both. Miſcreants are
" daily heard, who deny the exiſtence of
" either; and who do not tremble to vilify

" and

" and betray their God and their country.—In " this ſhameleſs ſtate of publick profligacy, it " is neceſſary to adopt every caution, to im- " poſe every ſanction, to inſiſt on every ſe- " curity, for the fidelity of their repreſenta- " tive. The honeſt candidate for any truſt, " never objects, will rather anxiouſly deſire, " to undertake in the moſt ſolemn manner, " for the honeſt execution of it. For ſuch " an undertaking only anticipates in a " proſpect pleaſing to the mind, the courſe " of its own integrity. The virtuous man's " promiſe is a draught on the bank of truth. " He makes it with confidence, for he knows " it will be paid with honour. Thoſe only " heſitate to offer the ſame fund as a ſecurity, " who are conſcious that they have no cor- " reſpondence with it."

Such are the moſt prominent paſſages in the *Freeholder;* and I cannot doubt that every man of taſte will admit, they bear an obvious reſemblance to the letters of *Junius*, both in matter and ſtyle. But as there are many points diſcuſſed, and many publick characters attacked, by *Junius*, that are not even mentioned in the *Freeholder*, I ſhall make

make a few extracts from the letters of *Democraticus*, and of the *Whig*, to shew how exactly Mr. Boyd's political sentiments correspond with those of *Junius*, in every particular instance.

The letters of *Democraticus* appeared in the *Publick Advertiser*, in the year 1779. Mr. Boyd sent them to Mr. Woodfall, in his ordinary hand-writing, and he did not conceal from Mrs. Boyd that he was the author of them. They were composed in the most careless and hurried manner, like common paragraphs for newspapers; and many of them were committed to paper late at night, after he had returned home greatly fatigued from having attended a long debate in one of the houses of parliament. Under these circumstances, to say nothing of the numberless difficulties by which, at this period of his life, much more than at any other, he was unceasingly teazed and perplexed, it will not, I presume, be denied, that it required a mind of great natural strength, as well as one long practised in the habits of literary composition, to have produced these letters. As to their style, though it be in general of a different

a different mould from that of *Junius*, yet in ſome particular parts there is ſo evident a likeneſs between them, that it is hardly credible it could have eſcaped the obſervation of Mr. Henry Sampſon Woodfall *. For to me, at leaſt, it appears perfectly clear, that the writer of *Democraticus*, in thoſe paſſages of his letters that have an affinity to the compoſitions of *Junius*, has through hurry and inattention lapſed into a ſtyle to which he had been long accuſtomed, but which he was deſirous to avoid. I ſhall, however, leave the publick to judge for themſelves.

As the letters of *Democraticus* are chiefly addreſſed to Lord NORTH, it is neceſſary to remind the reader of the particular expreſſions in which *Junius* has delivered his ſentiments concerning the publick conduct of that nobleman. In a letter to the Duke of GRAFTON, dated February 14th, 1770, ſhortly after his Grace had reſigned his ſeat in the cabinet, he obſerves—" The palm of

* I ſhall preſently ſhew, that there is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect Mr. Woodfall did obſerve this likeneſs, as well as one or two other circumſtances which tend to prove that Mr. Boyd was *Junius*."

" miniſterial

" miniſterial firmneſs is now transferred to " Lord North. He tells us ſo himſelf, and " with the plenitude of the *ore rotundo* * ; " and I am ready enough to believe, that, " while he can *keep his place*, he will not " *eaſily be perſuaded to reſign it.* Your " Grace was the firm miniſter of yeſterday; " Lord North is the firm miniſter of to-day. " To-morrow, perhaps, his Majeſty, in his " wiſdom, may give us a rival for you both. " You are too well acquainted with the tem- " per of your late allies, to think it poſſible " that Lord North ſhould be permitted to " govern this country. If we may believe " common fame, they have ſhewn him their " ſuperiority already. His Majeſty is in- " deed too gracious to inſult his ſubjects by " chooſing his firſt miniſter from among the " domeſticks of the Duke of BEDFORD; " that would have been too groſs an outrage " to the two kingdoms. Their purpoſe, " however, is ſufficiently anſwered by *puſh-* " *ing forward* this *unhappy figure*, and forc-

* This eloquent perſon has got as far as the diſcipline of Demoſthenes. He conſtantly ſpeaks with pebbles in his mouth to improve his articulation. *Junius.*

" ing him to *bear the odium of meaſures* " which *they* in *reality direct*. Without im- " mediately appearing to govern, they poſ- " ſeſs the power, and *diſtribute* the *emolu-* " *ments* of government as they think pro- " per." In another letter to the Duke of Grafton, he ſays, " to them who know Lord " North, it is unneceſſary to ſay, that he " was mean and low enough to ſubmit to " you." And in his letter to Lord North himſelf, after reprobating in ſevere terms the appointment of Lieut. Colonel LUTTRELL, to the poſt of adjutant general to the army in Ireland, he concludes by telling his Lordſhip—" As for *you*, my Lord, who, " perhaps, are no more than the blind un- " happy inſtrument of Lord BUTE, and her " Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of WALES, " be aſſured that you ſhall be called upon to " anſwer for the advice which has been " given, and either diſcover *your accomplices*, " or fall a ſacrifice to their ſecurity."

After Lord North had been ten years in office, *Democraticus* entertained the very ſame opinion of him; and he expreſſes it in language equally explicit, and if poſſible

more

more contemptuous and bold.—" The dif-
" grace and ruin of the preſent moment,"
ſays he, " we owe to his Lordſhip, and his
" *accomplices in office.* This, they may de-
" ny; for what will they not deny or
" aſſert? But their country challenges them
" to the proof. It is a truth demonſtrable
" in argument. His Lordſhip has been
" ten years in power; in *office at leaſt:* for
" I am aware of the defence under which
" his friends would ſhelter him; and will
" admit to him every reaſonable degree of
" *inſignificance,* as to his honour, *both as a*
" *miniſter and a man.* But he has not been
" *ſufficiently contemptible* to be ſafe. He
" has had power enough to ruin his coun-
" try. All its reſources have been at
" the command of adminiſtration. Never
" was government ſo ſtrongly ſupported.
" The publick purſe has been poured into
" their coffers, almoſt without queſtion, or
" account. The publick ſword was placed
" in their hand without controul, and ſharp-
" ened at their pleaſure; and the flag of
" England was committed to their care un-
" ſtained. Monſtrous majorities in parlia-

" ment obeyed their mandates; and even " the people, till their late bitter experience, " were deluded, and inflamed into a kind of " concurrence in their violences. Such was " the fulneſs of power intruſted to our mi- " niſters." * * * * * * * * " You, my Lord, " and the excluſive partners of your gratifi- " cations, have the excluſive praiſe of all " our preſent ſituation. And if miniſters can " yet be *reſponſible* in this ſinking country, " you and your aſſociates have an *excluſive* " *title to publick vengeance.*" In another letter, perſonally addreſſed to Lord North, he obſerves, " If any doubt could remain on the " fate of ſuch a miniſter, left to himſelf, the " hiſtory of your militia will remove it. " Let us gratefully recollect the political " juſtice of that ſcene, in which you ſo ſuc- " ceſsfully plotted your own tragi-comic " cataſtrophe. It is almoſt too ludicrous " to be gravely treated; and yet it may be " too ſerious in its conſequences for *ridicule* " or *contempt.* It is impoſſible not to laugh " at *Falſtaff*, buffeted by his own friends, " and outwitted in his own knavery; but " indignation checks our mirth, when we

" remember

" remember that the *fat man* has *miſled the* " *prince*, and *pillaged the exchequer*."

It is obſervable, that this paſſage is peculiarly in the ſtyle of *Junius;* and perhaps there is not even in the moſt highly finiſhed of the letters under that ſignature, a more happy or appropriate alluſion. But there are ſtill a few more paragraphs in thoſe letters, which, though not exactly in the language, are ſo much in the ſpirit of *Junius*, that I muſt beg leave to point them out.

In his letter to Lord North, already quoted, *Democraticus* obſerves, " In times " of rebellion, it was in common obſervation, " that the traitor was hated, though the " treaſon was loved. You, my Lord, per- " haps ſtand acquitted from crimes ſo ex- " alted. But levelling the argument to " your official ſituation, it may be prudent " to conſider that the tools of power are " firſt deſpiſed, and at laſt thrown aſide, by " thoſe who have employed them. Recol- " lect, my Lord, and feel, if you can, the " real relation in which you ſtand to a " *great connexion of power, under* which you " have been prime miniſter. The degree of

" of reſpect that you receive from the dig-
" nity of the lord preſident, cannot now be
" ambiguous even to your inſenſibility.
" Lord Weymouth tells the ſecret every
" evening. Mr. Rigby entertains the Houſe
" of Commons with it; and no wonder that
" he thinks it an excellent joke; for he
" gets both the laugh and the vote on his
" ſide. But, indeed, my Lord, your per-
" ſonal eſtimation ſeems alike in all. * * *
" * * From numberleſs inſtances of inſigni-
" ficance, and of danger, conſequently, in
" which you ſtand, when left to your own
" weakneſs, I have ſelected the defeat of
" your militia, and your confeſſed impo-
" tence of every national reſource, becauſe
" it is the moſt inſtant in its conſequence.
" I would warn you in ſober ſincerity of
" your imminent peril. You have not quite
" benumbed the country. *The people of*
" *England have feeling, my Lord, if they have*
" *not foreſight. The hour of trial, perhaps of*
" *ruin, is at hand.*" It will be recollected in what terms *Junius* talks of Lord Weymouth and Mr. Rigby in various parts of his letters; and it will be found, that they

are

are always mentioned by Mr. Boyd in language nearly ſimilar. Of Mr. Wedderburne *Junius* obſerves, "that there is ſome-"thing about him which even *treachery* "*cannot truſt.*" And in another place he ſays of him, "to ſacrifice a reſpected cha-"racter, and to renounce the eſteem of "ſociety, requires more than Mr. Wedder-"burne's reſolution: and though in him it "was rather a profeſſion than a deſertion "of his principles *(I ſpeak tenderly of this* "*gentleman, for, when treachery is in queſtion,* "*I think we ſhould make allowances for a* "*Scotchman)* yet we have ſeen him in the "Houſe of Commons overwhelmed with "confuſion, and almoſt bereft of his facul-"ties." *Democraticus* talks of him in terms more guarded, but not on that account the leſs ſevere. Speaking of Lord North, he aſks, "Did his Lordſhip reſerve his defence "for this day, when again, perhaps, the "charge ſhall be urged againſt him? Or "will he continue contumacious at *his* "*peril?* Even the *ſound diſcretion* of Mr. "Wedderburne will diſgrace its definition, "and will heſitate at the tyrannous and

"traitorous

" traitorous proſcription of the beſt and " braveſt * men of our ſervice, though *his* " *nature was amply indulged* in their *ground-* " *leſs* and *malicious proſecution.*"

In another letter *Democraticus* reflects upon the character of Lord Sandwich, in the warmeſt language of indignation and reproach. Addreſſing himſelf to Lord North, he ſays, " Self-defence, my Lord, " may be the law of art, as it is of na- " ture. We will not wonder, therefore, " that you and your friends ſhould ſtrain " every artifice to ruin the nobleſt honour, " and the moſt approved virtue in the king- " dom; becauſe that virtue is too pure, and " that honour too illuſtrious, to mix with " *meanneſs, malice,* and *diſgrace;* becauſe " thoſe honourable and injured men will " not ſerve their country, while you preſide " at the treaſury; while your aſſeſſor holds " the *department that was American,* and " continues his baleful influence with the " ghoſts of the departed colonies; and " while the *ſtain of office* †, *that reproach*

* He here alludes to the trial of Admiral Keppel.

† Meaning my Lord Sandwich.

" *and*

" *and ſtigma of every thing decent in private* "*life, or dignified in publick conduct, uſurps* " *the care of the* BRITISH FLAG." *Junius*'s ſentiments with regard to this noble Lord, are ſufficiently explained in one of his letters to the Duke of Grafton, wherein he obſerves, " We can eaſily account for your " violating your engagements with *men of* " *honour;* but why ſhould you betray your " *natural connexions?* Why ſeparate your- " ſelf from Lord Sandwich, Lord Gower, " and Mr. Rigby? With all the faſhion- " able indulgence of the times, this country " does not abound in characters like theirs; " and you may find it a very difficult mat- " ter to recruit the *black catalogue of your* " *friends.*"—No man, I ſhould imagine, can read the above paſſages attentively, without being forcibly ſtruck with the ſimilitude of their ſentiments, ſpirit, and manner. But, I ſhall now proceed to ſhew, in a few extracts from the letters of the *Whig*, not only that Mr. Boyd's principles were the ſame as thoſe of *Junius*, but alſo that he harboured in his mind the ſame peculiarity of political attachments and antipathies, as well as the ſame

ſame daring ſpirit; and if the *Whig* be more diffuſe in his ſtyle, and leſs keen in his ſatire, than *Junius*, his language is at leaſt equally nervous and elegant, and his reproaches equally dignified and ſevere.

The letters of the *Whig* appeared in Mr. Almon's paper, the *London Courant*, in the winter of 1779, and in the ſpring of 1780. Mr. Boyd confeſſed to Mrs. Boyd, that he was the author of them; nor did he keep the ſecret from Mr. Almon, who had long before that period been fully convinced, from ſeveral ſtrong circumſtances*, that he was in reality the writer of *Junius*'s letters. Some part of the MSS. of the *Whig* is ſtill extant, and I have ſeen it:—it is written in Mr. Boyd's ordinary hand-writing, though perhaps in ſomewhat of a larger letter, and it bears every appearance of having been executed in great haſte. In fact, he compoſed the letters of the *Whig*, nearly in the ſame negligent manner that he did thoſe of the *Freeholder*, and of *Democraticus*: and they exhibit the ſame range of mind, to-

* See Mr. Almon's Letter on this ſubject, in the Appendix to the Life.

gether

gether with the like eaſe and perſpicuity of diction.

The opinion of *Junius*, with regard to our conſtitutional maxim, *that the King can do no wrong*, is well known. But let us compare the language in which he has delivered it, with that of the *Whig*, on this delicate ſubject.

WHIG.

When it is truly ſaid, *that the King can do no wrong*, the office is intended, and not the perſon; and this true conſtruction is the *perfect praiſe of our admirable conſtitution*. The King of England *can do no wrong;* for it is not the office of the King *to do* any thing. The cautious wiſdom of our policy will not permit the King to act. ***** The office of King being thus conſidered, I truſt with due reſpect; for I think it receives the higheſt, when defined as part of the conſtitution; it remains to remind the perſon appointed to that office, that he is a man;—that in his perſonal capacity he may, he muſt *do wrong;* for error is eſſential to humanity. It remains to demonſtrate to him, that whoever confounds his perſon with his office, is a fatal enemy

JUNIUS.

If it be really a part of our conſtitution, and not a mere *dictum* of the law, *that the King can do no wrong*, it is not the only inſtance, in the *wiſeſt of human inſtitutions*, where theory is at variance with practice. That the Sovereign of this country is not amenable to any form of trial known to the laws, is unqueſtionable. But exemption from puniſhment is a ſingular privilege annexed to the royal character, *and no way excludes the poſſibility of deſerving it.* How long, and to what extent, a King of England may be protected by the forms, when he violates the ſpirit of the conſtitution, deſerves to be conſidered. A miſtake in this matter *proved fatal to Charles and his ſon.*

In another place, he ſays, The doctrine inculcated by our laws, *that the King can do no wrong*,

WHIG.	JUNIUS.
my to both; for that they are so perfectly distinct in their nature, attributes, and interests, that the abuse of one is expiable only by the punishment of the other. The constitution will not admit that *the King did wrong;* and the law says that *the King never dies:* but *Charles Stuart* was an *obstinate tyrant;* and *Charles Stuart lost his head.*	*wrong*, is admitted without reluctance. We separate the amiable good-natured prince from the folly and treachery of his servants, and the private virtues of the man from the vices of his government. Were it not for this distinction, I know not whether your *Majesty's condition*, or that of the *English nation*, would *deserve most* to be *lamented.*

Thus we find that the opinions of *Junius* and the *Whig*, on this question, most perfectly agree; and it is observable that the *Whig* explains himself with the greatest freedom of the two.

Junius's antipathy to the Scotch is too generally known, to render it any way necessary for me to cite the various passages in his letters, in which it is expressed. Every person will observe the striking similarity between the following extract from a letter of the *Whig*'s, and those parts of *Junius*'s writings, wherein the Scotch are mentioned. In the *Whig*'s letter to Lord Thurlow, after having spoken of Lord North, and Lord Hilsborough, with great bitterness and asperity,

rity, he ſays, "I aſk pardon from my reader "for deſcending to ſuch miſery; rendered "worthy of publick notice only from your "ſingular ſupport. No nobleman, except "your Lordſhip, has ſtooped to it; no "Engliſhman, except yourſelf, has ſo in-"ſulted his country. *Even* in the Houſe "of Commons, none but *Scotch lawyers* "*were found hardy enough on that day, to in-*"*ſult this kingdom.* And *even they*, with all "the *ſervility of their country*, and *venality* "of their *profeſſion*, (Mr. ADAM, indeed, "is but a young practitioner) were forced to "confeſs the ſluggiſhneſs of Lord North. "*They* did not *poſt from Scotland*, to ap-"plaud the miniſter, whoſe irreſolution has "*renewed rebellion in their kirk*, and whoſe "continued power *will add depopulation* and "*famine* to their country. No, my Lord, "they were too *diſcreet*. They *croſſed the* "*Tweed* according to the diſtinction ſuggeſt-"ed by their countryman, and pretty ſteadily "adopted ſince,—not to defend *mini-*"*ſters*, but ſupport *government*. And the "doctrine is now eſtabliſhed in practice by "an immediate proficient from Lord MANS-

"FIELD'S

" FIELD'S *ſchool;—that the only mode of ſup-*
" *porting government*, is to ſlander the peo-
" ple; to demonſtrate, that we have neither
" virtue, talents, nor ſpirit among us; that
" we ought, therefore, to endure diſgrace
" and defeat as our neceſſary lot, and hew
" our wood, and draw our water, without
" repining."

" The *excluſive infamy* of ſuch auxiliaries,
" were itſelf ſufficient to drag down the dig-
" nity of any character. Firmer fame, even
" than yours, if it riſqued ſuch ruin, could
" not eſcape it. When the Lord High
" Chancellor of England deſcends from his
" preſiding ſeat in the aſſembly of the no-
" bles, to mix with *impudent mercenaries*, in
" a cauſe which every man of honour ſhrinks
" from, he forfeits every reputation, and his
" glory will ſet more rapidly than it roſe.
" *Deſcent* and *fall*, which, with the ſpirits of
" MILTON, we thought adverſe, at leaſt to
" the magnanimity of his character, will grow
" natural, neceſſary, and inſtant to its abaſe-
" ment. He ſinks for ever." In ſeveral other parts of theſe letters, the *Whig* ſpeaks of the Scotch in ſimilar terms of reproach; but

but particularly in his letter addreſſed to the Majority of the Houſe of Commons, who divided with miniſters againſt Sir GEORGE SAVILLE's motion for a liſt of all the ſubſiſting penſions granted by the crown, he obſerves,—"England will ſee, that thoſe, "and almoſt only thoſe, who either hold "places under the crown, receive penſions "from the miniſter, or have *invaded us* "from the *northern part* of the *iſland*, are "the *perſons* who *conſpire* againſt the *pro-* "*perty* and *liberty* of the *people*." He then proceeds to point out to them, the dangerous and dreadful conſequences that may probably follow a too obſtinate adherence to the corrupt and pernicious counſels of Lord North; and concludes by exhorting them to aſſert the dignity of their ſtation, and to throw off their ſervile dependence on miniſters.—"Break," ſays he, "the diſgrace- "ful chains, that have ſo long bound you to "an abandoned adminiſtration; and retain "from the forgiveneſs of the people, what you "cannot longer withhold from their indig- "nation. Not the *gifts*, but the *givers*, have "*diſgraced* you. Your *places*, your *penſions*, "*even*

" *even the country of ſome of you,* cannot juſt-
" ly ſubject you to *poſitive reproach.* It is
" only as they have *inclined* and *debaſed* you
" into *infamous ſervility,* that they have
" *grown proverbial* in the *contempt* of man-
" kind. But in *prudence,* if not in *honour,*
" '*aſſume the virtue* if you *have it not;*' nor
" longer devote yourſelves to common ruin
" with the falling edifice of corruption. It
" ſhakes already to its foundation; the
" breath of the people will level it for
" ever."

Theſe cenſures of the Scotch, it may be ſaid, are nothing more than the popular language of the times in which they were written; and that therefore their reſemblance to the ſentiments of *Junius* on this ſubject, furniſhes no argument in the preſent diſcuſſion. But, it is not ſo much to the *parity* of particular ſentiments or phraſes, as to the *ſameneſs* of the general ſpirit by which they are animated, that I wiſh to fix the reader's attention. The hoſtility of *Junius* towards the Scotch, proceeded no leſs from an utter abhorrence of the political principles upon which the leading men

of

of that nation then acted, than from an entire conviction, that if those principles were permitted to take root in England, they would ultimately branch out, and grow above the legal liberties of the people. Whether or not his opinion was well founded, it is no way incumbent on me to inquire; I only mean to state, that it is manifest from the spirit of the remarks made on the national character of the Scotch, both by *Junius* and the *Whig*, that at least much of their apparent enmity arose from a desire to rouze the indignation and point the hatred of the people against the toryism introduced into his Majesty's councils by Lord Bute and Lord Mansfield, and to keep alive in the breasts of Englishmen, that watchful jealousy of their rulers, which is essential to the conservation of publick freedom. But the justness of these observations will be best proved by comparing the spirit of the following passage from *Junius*, with that of those of the *Whig* above quoted. In *Junius*'s first letter to Lord Mansfield, he says, —" Permit me to begin with paying a just " tribute to Scotch sincerity wherever I find

"it. I own I am not apt to confide in the "profeſſions of gentlemen of that country; "and when they ſmile, I feel an involuntary "emotion to guard myſelf againſt miſchief. "With this *general* opinion of an ancient "nation, I always thought it much to your "Lordſhip's honour, that in your earlier "days you were but little infected with the "*prudence* of your country." * * * * "The "liberal ſpirit of youth prevailed over *your* "*native diſcretion.*"— * * * * There was "ſomething generous in your *attachment to* "*the baniſhed Houſe of Stuart.* We lament "the miſtakes of a good man, and do not "begin to deteſt him until he *affects* to re- "nounce his principles. Why did you not "adhere to the loyalty you once profeſſed? "Why did you not follow the example of "your worthy brother *? With him you "might have *ſhared* in the *honour* of the "Pretender's confidence; with him you "might have preſerved the integrity of

* This man was always a rank Jacobite. Lord Ravenſworth produced the moſt ſatisfactory evidence of his having frequently drank the Pretender's health on his knees. *Junius.*

" your character; and England, I think, " *might have ſpared you without regret.* " Your friends will ſay, perhaps, that al- " though you deſerted the fortune of your " liege Lord, you have *firmly adhered to the* " *principles which drove his father from the* " *throne;* that, without openly ſupporting " the perſon, you have done eſſential ſer- " vice to the cauſe; and *conſoled yourſelf* " for the loſs of a *favourite family*, by *re-* " *viving* and *eſtabliſhing* the maxims of his " government. This is the way in which a " Scotchman's underſtanding corrects the " errors of his heart. My Lord, I acknow- " ledge the truth of the defence, and can " trace it through all your conduct. I ſee " through your whole life one uniform plan " to *enlarge* the *power of the crown*, at the " *expence* of the *liberty* of the *ſubject*. To " this object your thoughts, words, and ac- " tions, have been conſtantly directed." It were needleſs to quote this paſſage any fur- ther. The conformity of its ſpirit to that of the ſarcaſms of the *Whig*, on Lord Mans- field and the Scotch, muſt already be ſuffi- ciently evident.

With regard to Lord Bute, it is well known that *Junius* heaps reproaches upon him with abundant liberality. In a note to the moſt celebrated of all his letters, after deſcribing the manner in which the King was placed under the care of Lord Bute, he obſerves,—"That was the ſalient point "from which all the miſchiefs and diſgraces "of the preſent reign took life and mo-"tion." The *Whig* expreſſes the ſame ſentiment, by a figure equally illuſtrative. "The early excluſion of Mr. Pitt, and in-"troduction of the Earl of Bute, were the "firſt bitter waters of that fatal fountain "which has almoſt deluged the rights and "power of the people."

Every one will recollect, that *Junius* was an enemy to ſeptennial, and an advocate for triennial parliaments. In his letter to Mr. WILKES, he entered at large into the ſubject, and expreſsly declared himſelf to that effect. On this queſtion the *Whig* curſorily, but forcibly obſerves, that the "opportu-"nities and temptations to deſpotiſm, ſeem-"ed to have attained their full maturity, at "the commencement of the preſent reign.

"The

"The *ſeptennial act of ſuicide, abhorrent* cer-
"tainly from the *popular nature* of par-
"liament, and *deſtructive* of its due *inde-*
"*pendence* on the crown, had long been
"perpetrated."

Speaking of the popularity with which his Majeſty aſcended the throne, *Junius* and the *Whig* have expreſſed the ſame ſentiments, in language very much alike.

WHIG.

The time of his Majeſty's aſcenſion to the throne, was full of ſuch peculiar circumſtances of popularity, as gave unlimited, becauſe unſuſpected, power. Into that auſpicious moment was crowded all the promiſe of his youth, founded in the fond memory of all the virtues of his anceſtors; of his youth riſing, as it ſeemed, to renew the race of glory that they had run, even up to the recent goal of univerſal conqueſt. Nature and fortune conſpired to give the young monarch of that day an empire the beſt and moſt permanent that monarchs can enjoy, if they wiſh to maintain it,—an abſolute power in the hearts of his ſubjects.

JUNIUS.

You aſcended the throne with a declared, and, I doubt not, a ſincere reſolution of giving univerſal ſatisfaction to your ſubjects. You found them pleaſed with the novelty of a young prince, whoſe countenance promiſed even more than his words; and loyal to you not only from principle but paſſion. It was not a cold profeſſion of allegiance to the firſt magiſtrate, but a partial animated attachment to a favourite prince, the native of their country. They did not wait to examine your conduct, nor to be determined by experience, but gave you a generous credit for the future bleſſings of your reign, and paid you in advance the deareſt tribute of their affections.

Many

Many other parallel paſſages might be pointed out in the *Whig* and *Junius*, were I not fearful of fatiguing the patience of my readers, by increaſing theſe citations which, perhaps, they already think too numerous. But there are two more paragraphs in the letters of the *Whig*, which ſo peculiarly reſemble the general ſpirit and manner of *Junius*, that I ſhould deem it unpardonable not to notice them. Talking of the changes which corruption and miſgovernment have introduced into the Britiſh conſtitution, he ſays,—"The Britiſh conſtitution hath changed its form, and is loſing its ſpirit. Some magick has metamorphoſed the ancient pyramid into the deformity of a Chineſe pagoda. The beautiful ſtrength of its order is gone; and we now tremble for the narrowed baſe; oppreſſed by the middle; with monſters at the top!"

In another letter, wherein he reprobates the ſervility of miniſters, and the corruptions of the court, he ſays,—"Weakneſs alone were not a ſufficient qualification for a modern miniſter.—He muſt be *actively contemptible* if he expect *honour* at court. "**** Oc-

" * * * * Occaſions are ſtudiouſly contrived " to bend and ſubdue the ſpirits of men: " and thoſe are advanced the *higheſt* in the " *ſervice*, who have beſt learned the *diſcipline* " *of diſgrace*. There ſhould be little won- " der that *commanders* in ſuch a ſervice are " ſought for from the *ranks*."—

" I truſt I have now fully demonſtrated, that Mr. Boyd's political principles, opinions, and ſentiments, were preciſely the ſame as thoſe of *Junius*; and that his political writings bear a more ſtriking reſemblance to the general ſtyle and ſpirit of the celebrated letters under that ſignature, than any other compoſitions which have hitherto been preſented to the publick. It remains, however, to ſhew, that this reſemblance did not proceed from a ſtudied imitation, but from a predilection for that caſt of thought, and of language to which his mind had been long accuſtomed. To make a diſtinction of this nature, in general, perhaps requires one of the niceſt and moſt refined operations of critical taſte; but in the particular inſtance before us, it is to be determined by a few plain facts, and by an argument ſo ſimple and obvious,

obvious, that I doubt not it will be intelligible and satisfactory to every understanding.

It has been very generally imagined that the style of *Junius* is perfectly original; that it was formed upon no model; and that in the structure of it the author was indebted to no master. But an examination of the style, manner, and spirit, of two performances, that in the time of *Junius* were rather scarce, and that are still little known but by name, will incontestibly prove the utter fallacy of such a supposition. One of these performances, which I have already had occasion to quote, is intitled, *Killing no Murder**. It was written by the famous Colonel TITUS, while in close confinement in the Tower, by the order of CROMWELL. It is a remonstrance to the people of England against the tameness with which they submitted to the usurpation of the Protector; and its main argument is designed to shew, that so far from being a crime, it would be

* In 1792, this pamphlet was reprinted for Ridgeway, with a dedication to the late Empress of Russia!!

an

an act of heroick virtue to murder him by whatever means the nature of circumstances might render the most effectual. It commences with a dedication to Cromwell, which is no less remarkable for its unexampled boldness, than for a classical strength and elegance of diction, very uncommon in the age in which it was written, and that would do honour to the more polished periods of English literature.

The other performance is Lord BOLINGBROKE's political letters, which he originally published in the *Craftsman* under the signature of *Caleb D'Anvers*, and some of which, together with his letters on the History of England, and his dedication to Lord Oxford, are now to be found in *Vol. II. of his Miscellaneous Works*.

From these productions, but especially Lord Bolingbroke's, the writer of the letters of *Junius* unquestionably formed his style: and it is a fact, as curious in itself, as it is interesting in this discussion, that both Colonel Titus's tract, and Lord Bolingbroke's letters, were so familiar to Mr. Boyd, that he could almost repeat the whole of them. Of *Killing*

no Murder he had, when I knew him, a copy of the original edition, upon which he ſet a great value; and the dedication to Cromwell, as well as ſeveral other parts of that performance, he has very frequently repeated to me. Of Lord Bolingbroke's letters on the Hiſtory of England I have often heard him expreſs his high admiration; but the philoſophical works of that nobleman he always reprobated in the ſevereſt terms. When theſe circumſtances are combined with the fact, that the letters of the *Freeholder* and *Whig* have in many paſſages a *peculiar* affinity both to the reaſoning and manner of Lord Bolingbroke's writings, we muſt conclude in argument, that it was upon thoſe writings Mr. Boyd modelled his political ſtyle; and that therefore the language of *Junius*, and that of the *Freeholder* and *Whig*, were caſt in the ſame mould. But in order to ſubſtantiate the truth of this inference, I ſhall cite one or two paſſages, both from Colonel Titus and Lord Bolingbroke.

It is neceſſary to premiſe that, in Colonel Titus's performance, it is the dignified ani-

mation

mation and energy of the language; rather than the ſtructure of the ſentences, which Mr. Boyd has imitated. Of this, the reader will be enabled to judge, from the manner in which the dedication to Cromwell commences.

" *May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

" How I have ſpent ſome hours of the " leiſure your Highneſs has been pleaſed to " give me, this following paper will give " your Highneſs an account; how you will " pleaſe to interpret it, I cannot tell; but I " can with confidence ſay, my intention in " it is, to procure your Highneſs that juſtice " nobody yet does you, and to let the peo- " ple ſee the longer they defer it, the greater " injury they do both themſelves and you. To " your Highneſs juſtly belongs the honour " of dying for the people; and it cannot " chuſe but be an unſpeakable conſolation " to you in the laſt moments of your life, " to conſider, with how much benefit to " the world you are like to leave it. It is " then only, my Lord, the titles you now " uſurp will be truly yours. You will then " be indeed the deliverer of your country,

" and

" and free it from a bondage little inferior
" to that from which MOSES delivered his.
" —You will then be that true reformer
" which you would now be thought; re-
" ligion ſhall be then reſtored, liberty aſſert-
" ed, and parliaments have thoſe privileges
" they have fought for. We ſhall then
" hope that other laws will have place, be-
" ſides thoſe of the ſword, and that juſtice
" ſhall be otherwiſe defined than the will
" and pleaſure of the ſtrongeſt; and we ſhall
" then hope; men will keep oaths again,
" and not have the neceſſity of being falſe
" and perfidious to preſerve themſelves, and
" be like their rulers. All this we hope
" from your Highneſs's happy expiration,
" who are the true father of your country;
" for while you live, we can call nothing
" ours—and it is from your death we hope
" for our inheritances :—Let this conſidera-
" tion arm and fortify your Highneſs's mind
" againſt the fears of death, and the terrors
" of your evil conſcience, that the good you
" will do by your death, will ſomewhat ba-
" lance the evils of your life."—The ſame
ſpirit is kept up throughout the remainder

of

of the dedication, which is in every reſpect equally admirable.

After the dedication follows an addreſs to the officers and ſoldiers of the army, in which the following paſſage is deſerving of notice in this inveſtigation.

"Could ever England have thought to have "ſeen that army, that was never mentioned "without the titles of religious, zealous, "faithful, courageous, — the fence of her "liberty at home,—the terror of her ene-"mies abroad, become her gaolers? Not "her guard, but her oppreſſors? Not her "ſoldiers, but a tyrant's executioners, draw-"ing to blocks and gibbets all that dare be "honeſter than themſelves? This you do, "and this you are; nor can you ever re-"deem your own honour, the truſt and "love of your country, the eſtimation of "brave men, or the prayers of good, if you "let not ſpeedily the world ſee you have "been deceived; which they will then only "believe, when they ſee your vengeance on "the faithleſs head that did it. This, if you "defer too long to do, you will find too "late to attempt; and your repentance will

"neither

" neither vindicate you, nor help us. To " let you ſee you may do this as a lawful " action, and to perſuade you to it as a " glorious one, is the principal intent of " this following paper; which, whatever " effects it hath upon you, I ſhall not abſo- " lutely fail of my ends; for if it excites " not your virtue and courage, it will yet " exprobrate your cowardice and baſeneſs."

The whole of the pamphlet is written in the ſame ardent and nervous language: but, there is one ſentence in particular, ſo much in the general ſtyle of *Junius*, that I think it material to cite it. Talking of the virtue of murdering a tyrant, and enforcing the neceſſity of putting Cromwell to death, he ſays—" This firebrand, I would have any " way extinguiſhed; this ulcer, I would " have had any hand to lance; and I can- " not doubt but God will ſuddenly ſanctify " ſome hand to do it, and bring down that " bloody and deceitful man, who lives not " only to the miſery, but the infamy of our " nation."

Throughout the whole of theſe paſſages, the ſpirit of *Junius* may be traced: but

in

in the following extracts from the aforesaid letters of Lord Bolingbroke, we shall immediately perceive the form and type of *Junius*'s composition.

The Dedication to Lord Oxford contains some striking passages in which the critical phisiognomist will observe the features of *Junius*. The dignified air and manner with which it begins, merits peculiar notice.

" My Lord,"

" Of the whole legion once in your pay, " perhaps not one writer continues in your " service; as they followed you for the " loaves and fishes only, their zeal failed " with their appointments, and they found " it necessary to take up some other trade."

" But though, *like them, my Lord, I at-* " *tended your meridian, I shall not like them* " *forsake you at your decline;* on the con- " trary, I am still as much at your devotion " as ever, and it is notorious, you have " now as much to bestow as I expected " then.

" As therefore I make my approach with " the same sincerity, I depend on the same

" reception

" reception; more eſpecially when I far-
" ther aſſure you, that if I happen to be
" the longeſt liver, I will be as juſt to your
" memory, as I have been to your admini-
" ſtration."

In another paragraph he proceeds to ſay, —" The old jingle of *honores mutant mores*, " you have the glory, my Lord, to be an il-
" luſtrious exception to; however enlarged
" with ſtyle and titles, you continue to be
" within the very ſame; and thereby ſhew
" the eminent inſignificancy of ſuch vani-
" ties.

" *That you condeſcended to accept of them,*
" *will ever to ſome be matter of wonder; that*
" *you condeſcended to ſolicit them will never*
" *perhaps be believed.* Why ſhould a man
" who deſpiſed the eſſence, be fond of the
" name? And that you always had the
" magnanimity to be above opinion, is ma-
" nifeſt by every action of your life.

" But what labyrinth is there ſo intri-
" cate, that if you follow the thread, may
" not be explored? A peerage was the
" only means, a quietus was the end: you
" had performed your voyage, your bark

" was

"was crazy, the ſtorm was up, and the "firſt port welcome. While the helm was "worth holding, you held it; when only an "incumbrance, you reſigned it; equally "pleaſed with your own eſcape, that your "enemies ſucceeded to the danger, and "that your own crew continued to navi-"gate the veſſel as before."

In the preface to the letters, the follow-ing paſſage is obſervable. "If ever a teſt "for the trial of ſpirits can be neceſſary, it "is now; if ever thoſe of liberty and fac-"tion ought to be diſtinguiſhed from each "other, it is now; if ever it is incumbent "on the people to know what truth is, and "to follow it, it is now.

"Hitherto, perhaps, liberty like oil hath "only covered the ſurface, while the vine-"gar of faction hath corroded the conſti-"tution underneath, though good hath re-"ſulted from both; for even faction muſt "be at firſt popular, and popularity can-"not be acquired without the evidence of "ſome good deeds, which like Abraham's "faith, may hold the place of righteouſ-"neſs.

"There is a time, when factions by the "vehemence of their own fermentation, "ſtun and diſable one another; and this is "the time when plain ſenſe, and downright "honeſty, have the only chance to get "uppermoſt, and introduce reformation.

"Perhaps that time is now; perhaps "party leaders of all kinds are equally in "diſgrace; and the publick may be grown "wiſe enough to judge of the tree by its "fruits." * * * * * * * "Let but one great, "brave, diſintereſted, active man ariſe, and "he will be received, followed and almoſt "adored as the guardian genius of theſe "kingdoms. Without a foundation of ſo- "lid virtue and publick ſpirit, the nobleſt "accompliſhments loſe their importance; "with it common ſenſe grows venerable, "and the dove triumphs over the ſerpent."

Many paſſages ſimilar to theſe might be cited both from the letters on the Hiſtory of England, and from thoſe of *Caleb D'Anvers;* but, I truſt, I have ſufficiently illuſtrated and confirmed my propoſition,—that both the ſtyle of *Junius*, and that of Mr. Boyd's political writings now publiſhed, were

were formed in the mould of theſe letters of Bolingbroke's, and that they have imbibed the ſpirit of Colonel Titus's production. And taking this along with the fact already ſtated, that Mr. Boyd had ſo much familiarized his mind to the writings of thoſe authors that he had almoſt the whole of them by heart; and remembering at the ſame time that he is the only writer hitherto known, who at once reſembles Bolingbroke, Colonel Titus, and *Junius*, — the fair and natural preſumption is, that Mr. Boyd was in reality the author of *Junius*.

But it may be contended, that Boyd was only an induſtrious imitator of thoſe writers; and that though *Junius* copied Bolingbroke, it does not follow, becauſe Boyd's ſtyle reſembles theirs, that he therefore was *Junius*: — for another perſon might have admired Bolingbroke's letters as much as Boyd did, and have thought proper to model his ſtyle by them. To this, I anſwer, that to imitate the ſtyle of a great writer ſucceſsfully, that is, both in matter and language, requires not only a genius nearly equal to the original, but alſo much time and labour. Now, though I think

Mr. Boyd's genius was equal to any literary undertaking of this nature, however arduous, yet the fact is, that the hurry and confusion in which the letters of the *Freeholder*, in particular, were written, precluded the possibility of any study or labour in the composition of them: and in truth they carry the strongest internal evidence along with them, both that the author must have been habituated to the style in which he writes, and that he must have sent them to the press, as he says himself, without "correction or even revisal*."—As to the objection, that another person might have imitated Bolingbroke, as well as Boyd, it is plausible enough, but certainly of no weight in this discussion, unless the person could be named, and his avowed writings produced. I am therefore authorized to conclude, that when Mr. Boyd published the *Freeholder*, he was an experienced writer, who had long before that time formed his style from the political letters of Bolingbroke; and that *Junius* is the only writer besides, who has made those letters his model.

* See the Advertisement to the Reader prefixed to the *Freeholder*.

Thus

Thus I have eſtabliſhed the truth of two facts, which may be conſidered as eſſential preliminaries in this inveſtigation; namely, that Mr. Boyd's talents were fully competent to the taſk of writing the letters of *Junius*, and that his avowed political writings bear, in every reſpect, ſo obvious a ſimilitude to thoſe letters, that we muſt preſume they were written by the ſame hand.

But as it has been attempted to run down Mr. Boyd's abilities; as the publick have been repeatedly told that I have over-rated them; and as I have been called upon to produce the teſtimonies of more competent and leſs partial judges than myſelf, in ſupport of my opinion,—I am deſirous that my *firſt fact*, that he was qualified to have written the letters of *Junius*, ſhould not reſt wholly, even upon the ſtrong internal evidence which I have adduced to prove it. For, I am perfectly well aware, that this kind of evidence, even upon a point like this, where it is undoubtedly the moſt unexceptionable that can be given, does not always enforce conviction, unleſs it be ſupported by collateral aid.

Before it can be accurately determined whether

whether Mr. Boyd's capacity was equal to the task of compoſing the letters of *Junius*, it is neceſſary to examine the merits of thoſe letters, and to aſcertain, what in reality were the qualifications requiſite for the author of them to have poſſeſſed.

The fame of *Junius*'s letters has now outlived the memory of the particular occurrences, which gave them birth. The intereſt in them is no longer kept up by the effervescence of party zeal, or the enthuſiaſm of publick liberty; for the parties they praiſed, or cenſured, are now no more, and the genuine ſpirit of liberty, from a variety of cauſes, has become flat and inſipid. Yet are thoſe letters ſtill read by all deſcriptions of people throughout the country;—they are conſidered merely as literary compoſitions, and as ſuch they are univerſally admired. Their fame, therefore, muſt in a great meaſure depend on their own excellence; and it behoves us to inquire what that excellence conſiſts in.

I ſhall not, I truſt, be underſtood as detracting from the *true merit* of *Junius*, when I apply to his writings in general, what was ſaid of them by Mr. Horne Tooke,—*materiem*

riem ſuperabat opus. It is the exquiſite beauty of his workmanſhip, rather than the value of his materials, that deſerves the applauſe of mankind. His letters undoubtedly abound with ſtriking thoughts, juſt obſervations, noble ſentiments, and comprehenſive views; but they no where diſplay much ſolidity of argument, or depth of reflection: on the contrary, his reaſoning, though often ingenious, is more ſpecious than concluſive; and his remarks, though often accurate, are often more dazzling than profound. His chief excellencies then will be found to conſiſt, in the clearneſs of his conceptions, in the preciſion with which every fact is ſtated, and idea expreſſed, in the nervous cloſeneſs and captivating elegance of his ſtyle, in the Attic ſpirit and poignancy of his ſatire, in the admirable felicity of his illuſtrations, and in the rich, but lively and chaſte colouring with which every thing is touched and adorned *.

If

* Of *Junius* it may be truly ſaid, "*Nullum quod tetigit* "*non ornavit.*" Nor ſhall I be deterred from beſtowing this juſt praiſe on his ſtyle, on account of the trivial errors which Mr. *Chalmers* has pointed out, and cenſured. "Such "violations of rules merely *poſitive* become the comprehen-

"ſive

If this be admitted to be a juſt character of *Junius*'s writings, it follows as a neceſſary conſequence, that he who compoſed them, required not to have been gifted with any other endowments, than an enlarged, vigorous, and ſubtle underſtanding, a quick apprehenſion, a fertile imagination, a very conſiderable knowledge of claſſical learning and civil hiſtory, a general acquaintance with the moral ſciences, particularly that of juriſprudence, and of the conſtitution and laws of England, a thorough inſight into human life and manners, a perfect intimacy with party politicks, as well as with the private and publick hiſtories of eminent men, and diſtinguiſhed families, and above all, a ſtrong and retentive memory, ever ready to call up in the mind all the information it had received, a correct judgment to employ it ſucceſsfully, and a refined taſte to poliſh and beautify the whole. Every competent judge who *perfectly knew* Mr. Boyd, will, I am ſure, allow, that he poſſeſſed all thoſe endowments in a very eminent degree. But in order to convince the publick, that my opinion of his abilities is not ſingular, I beg

" five genius of *Boyd*, and ſuch cenſures are ſuitable to the " minute and ſlender criticiſm of *Chalmers*."

leave

leave to cite the following paragraph of a note, which I received from the celebrated Mr. GRATTAN, in the courſe of laſt ſummer. "Mr. Boyd's underſtanding," ſays he, "was very conſiderable, his memory "aſtoniſhing, and his literary powers very "great; but, whether *he thought proper* to "give them the ſtyle and caſt of *Junius*'s "compoſition, is what Mr. Grattan cannot "poſſibly undertake to ſay. Mr. Grattan "wiſhes every ſucceſs to Mr. CAMPBELL'S "work, as it is the account of a perſon "(whether *Junius* or not) whoſe life and "talents were an ornament to letters, and "whoſe death an irretrievable loſs."

May 16th, 1799.

The opinion entertained of Mr. Boyd's talents, as well as of the letters of the *Freeholder*, by his friends in Ireland, may be collected from the following extract of an addreſs to the freeholders of the county of Antrim, publiſhed in the Belfaſt *News Letter*, ſome years after he had gone to India.

"I conclude, my countrymen, in the "words of a man" (Mr. Boyd) "whoſe "ſervices to you CAN NEVER BE SUFFI-

"CIENTLY

"CIENTLY PRAISED:—Who pointed out
"IN LANGUAGE WHICH WILL BE RE-
"MEMBERED WHILE THERE IS GRATI-
"TUDE LEFT IN HIS NATIVE COUNTRY,
"the glorious moment which reſtored you
"to your original rights. In a period leſs
"ominous to freedom than the preſent, he
"left this country when he thought he could
"no longer ſerve it. He looked for an-
"other, and became a citizen of the world.
"If aſked where that lay? He might, like
"Anaxágoras, have pointed to the heavens.
"Had he journeyed to the weſt inſtead of
"the eaſt, he might there have found a
"region more congenial to his noble mind.
"Whatever perils he has encountered,—
"whatever hardſhips he has ſuffered,—and
"I fear diſappointment and diſaſter have
"been his lot,—could he now contemplate
"through the opaque veil of Aſiatick deſ-
"potiſm, the ſituation of his native country;
"even at this diſtance he would addreſs a
"prayer to the God who rules the univerſe,
"for the conſervation of its liberties."

Almoſt all the literary friends that Mr. Boyd had in England, are now dead; but

it

it is a positive fact, the truth of which, if called in question, I can satisfactorily prove, that Mr. Edmund Burke, and his brother Mr. Richard Burke, that Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Wilkes, Doctor Armstrong, Mr. Serjeant Adair, Mr. Lauchlin Macleane, Mr. David Garrick, and Doctor Goldsmith, all entertained the very highest opinion of the uncommon powers of Mr. Boyd's mind. And the late Mr. John Stuart, of Hampstead, of whom I have already given a particular account, has frequently declared to me, "that Boyd "possessed a clearer understanding, a more "fertile imagination, and a more ready and "refined wit, than any other man he ever "knew:—that he thought his talents *supe-* "*rior* to the abilities displayed in the letters "of *Junius;* but that he could easily be- "lieve him to have been the author of those "letters, if he were once assured, that "Woodfall was not indemnified against the "pecuniary penalties, which he was liable "to incur as the publisher of them *: for," said

* This objection is now completely done away, by the declaration which Mr. William Woodfall recently made in the

said Mr. Stuart, "if an indemnity of that "kind had been required, you know our "friend Boyd had it not to offer."

With Mr. Edmund Burke, Mr. Boyd was long in habits of the closest intimacy. He was first introduced to him by their common friend the late Governor PATTERSON, of the Island of St. John's. Mr. Burke admired him so much upon their first acquaintance, that he immediately invited him to Beaconsfield, where he passed some time, and whither afterwards he often went. Mr. Burke, his brother Richard, and his cousin William Burke, also visited frequently at Mr. Boyd's house. But the great confidence that Edmund Burke placed in Boyd's political sagacity and talents, is best proved by the following fact, which came within my own knowledge. From the year 1788 till 1793, both Edmund Burke and his son kept up a constant correspondence with Boyd, although during that time he was at

the publick papers, by the authority of his brother Mr. H. S. Woodfall:—namely, "that the printer of the Pub-"lick Advertiser *never asked for any indemnity, nor was any* "*offered him.*"

so

ſo great a diſtance from them *. Some of Mr. Burke's letters I have ſeen. The ſubject of them was the French Revolution; and they were written in his beſt ſtyle, and with that ſpirit of philoſophy which pervades all his writings. He alſo wrote to him on the affairs of India; but theſe letters, for whatever reaſon, Boyd thought proper to deſtroy. The letters which he received from young Burke were chiefly on the affairs of Ireland, particularly as they related to the emancipation of the Catholicks: and on all thoſe ſubjects Boyd, with a few inconſiderable exceptions, agreed with the Burkes.

The only one of Mr. Boyd's old and very intimate literary friends, beſides Mr. Grattan, who is ſtill living, is the learned Mr. FRANCIS HARGRAVE; and he has told me, "that he always thought Mr. Boyd's "abilities were of the very firſt rate, and "that he held his literary endowments in the "higheſt eſtimation."

Mr. Boyd was likewiſe acquainted with Mr. Richard B. Sheridan. He uſed ſome-

* Mr. Boyd was then at Madras. He went to India in 1781.

times

times to meet him at Mr. STRAFFORD CANNING'S, and at a club at the Globe Tavern in Fleet-ſtreet: and I have reaſon to believe that Mr. Sheridan conceived a high opinion of his wit and talents. In ſhort, every perſon of taſte and judgment who knew Mr. Boyd, conſidered him as a very extraordinary man, and as one endowed with the moſt brilliant parts and extenſive acquirements.

Yet, it may be ſaid, that Mr. Boyd was too young to have been the author of *Junius*'s letters; for, that at the age of twenty three *, he cannot be ſuppoſed to have gained the political experience, and the knowledge of the world, which they every where diſplay. This objection is more plauſible than ſolid; and is moreover abundantly refuted by ſome eminent examples of the like prematurity of mind.

The name of Congreve will occur to every reader acquainted with literary hiſtory, as an inſtance of one who had attained

* This was Mr. Boyd's age, when the letters of *Junius* commenced.

at

at a very early age an extenſive knowledge of life and manners. This extraordinary man had written his three beſt comedies, and the tragedy of the *Mourning Bride*, before he had paſſed his twenty-fifth year. "Among all the efforts of early genius," ſays Doctor Johnſon, "and literary hiſ-"tory records, I doubt whether any one "can be produced, that more ſurpaſſes the "common limits of nature than the plays "of Congreve."—But, Congreve was not a politician. In the political world, however, there are examples equally ſtriking. The two greateſt orators of the preſent day, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt, came into parliament at the age of twenty two†: and the friends of theſe gentlemen will allow, that at no period of their political lives, have they ever exhibited ſtronger proofs of ſagacity, knowledge, and eloquence than when they firſt commenced their career. Mr. Fox, before he reached his twenty-ſixth year, was the leader of a party the

† It has indeed been ſaid that Mr. Fox was *not of age* when he procured a ſeat in parliament.

moſt

moſt illuſtrious for talents of every kind, that was ever known in England; and the wonderful ability and addreſs with which he managed that party, beſt ſhews how deeply he had ſearched into the human heart, how [illegible]ſtly he underſtood the motives, paſſions, and weakneſſes of men, and how attentively he had obſerved the habits and practices of the world. Mr. PITT formed a party at the ſame age, which he has held together ever ſince; while he attended to the various intereſts, and conducted the affairs of the Britiſh empire.

It is not my intention to inſtitute any compariſon between the talents of theſe great men, and thoſe of *Junius*. I only mention their early attainments, in order to ſhew that very young men, may act or write like very experienced politicians;—for, the Scripture ſaith truly—"*that wiſ-dom is the grey hair unto men.*"

Of Mr. Boyd's great proficiency at ſchool, I have already given an account: And his early knowledge of mankind, and of political affairs, will appear the leſs ſur-priſing,

priſing, when it is known that his father had made a practice of bringing him into company at eight years old; that he encouraged by every means in his power, his ſon's propenſity to mix with ſociety, and to liſten to the converſation and obſerve the manners of men; and that ſeeing his turn for politicks, he beſtowed the greateſt pains in inſtilling into his youthful mind the genuine principles of freedom, in inſtructing him in the ſcience of civil government, and in impreſſing him with juſt notions of the excellence of the Britiſh conſtitution. How well his father was qualified to do all this, has been ſhewn, upon the teſtimony of Dean Swift: and when we couple ſuch circumſtances with the fact, that almoſt every man, in Dublin, diſtinguiſhed either for his rank or talents, uſed to viſit at Mr. Macauley's houſe,—I truſt the cauſes of the prematurity of Mr. Boyd's mind, will appear ſufficiently explained.

Upon the whole, combining the concurrent opinions of the diſtinguiſhed characters who have been named, as to Mr. Boyd's intellectual powers and literary qualifica-

tions, with the ſtrong internal evidence in proof of them, which the ſelections I have made from his political writings afford, it muſt, upon every principle of fair reaſoning be concluded, that he was a man of genius and knowledge,—of conſiderable ſagacity and great acuteneſs;—and that he was an able politician, as well as a maſterly and elegant writer: and, therefore, according to my idea of the qualities that conſtitute the excellence of *Junius*'s letters, which the beſt judges will, I believe, admit to be correct, I am amply juſtified in laying it down as an indubitable truth, that Mr. Boyd's talents were fully adequate to the taſk of writing thoſe celebrated epiſtles.

But, it may ſtill be contended, that though Mr. Boyd was gifted with great abilities, he did not poſſeſs ſufficient means of information with reſpect to the interior politicks of the cabinet, and the private lives of men in power, to have written the letters of *Junius*;—for, that the author of thoſe productions muſt have been intimately connected with government, as well as in the conſtant habit of aſſociating with the

firſt circles of rank and faſhion. To this I anſwer,—That a ſtrict ſcrutiny of thoſe letters will convince every man of found ſenſe, that they contain no political information whatever, but ſuch, as a perſon of Mr. Boyd's penetration and tenacious memory might very eaſily have acquired, from the converſation of thoſe very gentlemen, with whom, as it has been ſtated, he lived on terms of familiarity and friendſhip. And to thoſe who imagine that the writer of *Junius*'s letters muſt of neceſſity have mixed much with people of rank and faſhion, I reply, that it is a fact well known to Mr. Boyd's relations, that not only during the time of *Junius*, but throughout his whole life, he kept company with the higheſt orders of ſociety, and was familiarly acquainted with ſeveral families of diſtinction. It is alſo an equally well authenticated fact, that when *Junius* was making ſo much noiſe in the world, Boyd made a conſtant practice of attending the levees and drawing-rooms at St. James's. He went to them as a man of faſhion; and with his inquiſitive mind, inſinuating addreſs, prompt apprehenſion, and wonderful

memory, we cannot doubt that he collected a vaſt deal of curious information, both of a publick and private nature. In truth, no man knew the politicks of the day better than Mr. Boyd; and there was not a family of any conſequence, either in Great Britain or Ireland, with whoſe hiſtory he was not thoroughly acquainted.

I ſhall, however, endeavour more particularly to point out the channels through which he received his political information. Thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the hiſtory of the Duke of Grafton's adminiſtration, know perfectly well, how very poſſible it was, in the time of *Junius*, to obtain intelligence of what paſſed in the cabinet, without being any way connected with it; and it is well known that few men had more early notice of what paſſed there than Mr. Wilkes, with whom Boyd conſtantly aſſociated. But he had yet another channel of information, more ſure at leaſt, if not more direct, than this one.

The late Mr. Lauchlin Macleane, who was ſecretary to Lord Shelburne, (now Marquis of Lanſdown) when his Lordſhip

was

was ſecretary of ſtate, was Mr. Boyd's particular friend. They firſt became known to each other in Dublin, in the year 1764. On Macleane's return from America, they met in London, and renewed their acquaintance. Boyd then got very intimate with Harry Macleane, Lauchlin's younger brother; and he took a warm intereſt in whatever concerned them or their family. Both the Macleanes were men of abilities, but Lauchlin poſſeſſed an uncommon degree of ſagacity and penetration, and to uſe the words of Johnſon, "he knew the mind "of man, from the depth of ſtratagem to the "ſurface of affectation." During the time he was in office, Boyd was regularly informed of all the ſecret tranſactions of that mongrel adminiſtration, of which Lord Shelburne was then a member. When the Duke of Grafton compelled that noble Lord to relinquiſh his place, it is well known that Macleane was diſmiſſed along with him. A few months ſubſequent to their diſmiſſion, the letters of *Junius* commenced. At this period Boyd conſtantly aſſociated with the Macleanes. With Lauchlin he uſed frequently

quently to dine; and Harry called on him almoſt every day to communicate the political news, which he and his brother had employed their moſt ſtrenuous induſtry to collect.

From his old friend Mr. Grattan alſo, who lived in London in the time of *Junius*, he may be ſuppoſed to have received much aſſiſtance in obtaining information reſpecting ſecret politicks; and during the years 1769 and 1770, while Boyd lived in Marlborough-ſtreet, he and Mr. Grattan were perpetually together.

With regard to the affairs of Ireland, he had ſeveral ſources of intelligence; but it was chiefly through his friend Mr. Flood he received his earlieſt information.

It were ſuperfluous to ſtate any thing further on this part of the inveſtigation: for it muſt be evident to every candid mind, that there is no kind of knowledge in *Junius*'s letters, which Mr. Boyd did not poſſeſs; and that he was in fact amply qualified in every reſpect, to have been the author of ſuch productions.

There are, however, one or two things which it ſeems requiſite to account for, before

fore I ſtate the circumſtances in proof of Boyd having actually written the letters of *Junius*.

It has been aſked, what could have induced the author of *Junius* to conceal his name, after the fame which his papers acquired, was firmly eſtabliſhed in the publick opinion, and after the animoſity of thoſe whom he attacked may be ſuppoſed to have ſubſided? Nothing certainly is more extraordinary than that diſpoſition of mind, which in the author of *Junius* enabled him to liſten to the applauſe of his admirers, and to the cenſures of his enemies, with equal indifference, and never once to be betrayed by flattery, or thrown off his guard by provocation; to keep his ſecret even from her to whom he confided every thing elſe; ſilently to ſuffer the praiſes which he had earned by his abilities, induſtry, and labour, to be beſtowed upon others, to be ſatisfied with the ſelf-gratification and conſciouſneſs of having gathered thoſe laurels which he daily ſaw ſo many great men willing to accept, and finally to refuſe to his memory that honour which an admiring world was

ſolicitous

ſolicitous to beſtow. That this diſpoſition of mind belonged, in a peculiar manner, to Mr. Boyd, thoſe who thoroughly knew him, and who had pried into the deepeſt receſſes of his heart, will not heſitate to acknowledge. For, in truth, few men united ſo much ardour of mind, with ſo much gentleneſs of manners; ſo much generoſity of heart, with ſo much evenneſs of temper; ſo much ſecrecy and reſolution, with ſo much frankneſs and eaſe; ſo much noble pride, with ſo little idle vanity; and ſuch high paſſions, with a command over them ſo entire, that ſuperficial obſervers of his habits have abſurdly imagined he had no paſſions at all. What his motive was for carrying his ſecret with him to the grave, it is impoſſible to determine, and therefore uſeleſs to inquire; but it is probable, that having once found it neceſſary, in order to check inquiries concerning *Junius*, to tell the world that he was the *ſole depoſitory of his own ſecret, and that it ſhould periſh with him*, he deemed it improper to retract his declaration. His motive for not avowing himſelf before he left England, is eaſily

explained.

explained. He was involved in the greateſt embarraſſments, and looked for aſſiſtance from men in power, who he knew would not only withdraw their patronage, but become his moſt inveterate enemies, if they had the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of his being the writer of *Junius*'s letters; while on the other hand, he had little to expect from ſuch friends, as the knowledge of the fact might poſſibly have procured him. And after he went to India, it would have been ſomething more than imprudence to have avowed he was *Junius*.

Every reader will recollect that *Junius* had very few political friends; for he attacked either openly, or indirectly, all parties, but the Grenvilles. Of Lord Chatham, indeed, he always ſpeaks in the higheſt terms, to ſay nothing of his beautiful panegyrick on him; but there are ſome of his Lordſhip's meaſures and opinions, which he unequivocally objects to. The Rockingham party he frequently cenſures, though in the moſt reſpectful terms, and though he praiſes, "the mild, but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham." But Lord Temple,

ple and his brother Mr. Grenville he never mentions, except in the warmeſt language of approbation: and it is a poſitive fact that Mr. Boyd always ſpoke of them in a ſimilar manner, perhaps, from an expectation of being patronized by Lord Temple, as Mr. Almon ſuppoſes*; or it may be from a conviction that they richly merited the applauſe of every man who ſought only to promote the true intereſts, and to uphold the legal liberties, of England.

With regard to thoſe whoſe characters *Junius* moſt ſeverely attacks, I have already ſhewn that Mr. Boyd entertained the ſame opinion of them; and in that opinion I am firmly perſuaded he was confirmed from a ſincere belief, (whether juſt or not I do not pretend to determine), that it was founded in the ſtricteſt veracity, and that therefore he conceived he was doing a ſignal ſervice to his country by expoſing their private vices together with their publick crimes to the contempt and indignation of every honeſt heart. He knew that when civil ſocie-

* See Mr. Almon's ſecond Letter, in the Appendix to the Life.

ty

ty arrives at a high pitch of refinement, the corruption and degeneracy which ever accompany its progreſs, render general ſatire of but little avail; becauſe men whoſe ſenſes are dulled by luxury and venality cannot be touched by any general cenſures; ſuch correctives however ſtrong they do not feel; nothing but the ſight of their own deformity can ſhame them into righteouſneſs*. I will not ſay, that *Junius*

* On this point it is obſerved by *Junius*, in his reply to one of Sir William Draper's letters, "that *meaſures, and* "*not men*, is the common cant of affected moderation; a "baſe counterfeit language, fabricated by knaves and "made current among fools. Such gentle cenſure is not "fitted to the preſent degenerate ſtate of ſociety. What "does it avail to expoſe the abſurd contrivance and per-"nicious tendency of meaſures, if the man who adviſes "or executes them be ſuffered, not only to eſcape with "impunity, but even to preſerve his power, and inſult us "with the favour of his ſovereign." He then quotes a letter of Mr. Pope's to Doctor Arbuthnot, wherein Pope, ſays, "To reform and not to chaſtiſe, I am afraid is im-"poſſible; and that the beſt precepts, as well as the beſt "laws, would prove of ſmall uſe, if there were no exam-"ples to enforce them. To attack vices in the abſtract "without touching perſons, may be ſafe fighting, indeed, "but it is fighting with ſhadows. My greateſt comfort "and

Junius has always drawn his pictures faithfully, much less will I contend that they are not often too highly coloured; but I am fully satisfied that he, for the most part, believed them to be just representations of the originals. I know that he is mistaken in some of his statements, and I think some of his asperities and sarcasms highly blameable; but I am nevertheless convinced that his intentions were always pure, and that his chief motives were, a truly noble zeal in the cause of liberty, and a generous ambition of raising the literary reputation of his letters, and of being ranked, under the signature he adopted, among the first political satirists, of any age or nation.

His determined and unrelenting hostility to the Duke of Grafton, has, however, been supposed to have arisen from some private motive; and the supposition is certainly justified by the bitterness of his remarks upon his Grace's conduct. But, the

" and encouragement to proceed has been to see, that " those who have no shame, and no fear of any thing else, " have appeared touched by my satires."

motive

motive is eaſily pointed out. I have already noticed the friendſhip that ſubſiſted between Mr. Boyd and the Macleanes, and the warm intereſt he took in their affairs. Now, it is a fact, that after Mr. Lauchlin Macleane was diſmiſſed, by the Duke of Grafton, from the office of under ſecretary of ſtate, he conceived a mortal hatred for his Grace, and indulged his reſentment by painting him in the blackeſt colours. From this circumſtance, I infer, that Mr. Boyd formed his opinion of the noble Duke's conduct from the repreſentations of Mr. Macleane and his brother; that his friendſhip for them, together with the conviction that the meaſures of his Grace's adminiſtration were inconſiſtent with the true principles of the conſtitution, and ruinous to the empire, induced him to hold him up to the nation as a weak and dangerous miniſter; and that his conſtant habit of converſing with them on the ſubject had ſharpened and envenomed the point of his ſatire.

Such are the motives which may be ſuppoſed to have influenced Mr. Boyd in writing the letters of *Junius*. And having now

ſhewn,

ſhewn, that he was not only qualified in every reſpect to have been the writer of thoſe letters, but alſo that his other political writings reſemble them ſo exactly, as to afford the ſtrongeſt preſumptive proof, that they are the compoſitions of the ſame perſon,—I ſhall proceed to ſtate the facts and circumſtances, which in conjunction with the internal evidence that has been adduced, have fully convinced me, and will, I think, convince every unbiaſſed mind, that he was in reality the author of *Junius*. For, in this inveſtigation, poſitive evidence cannot reaſonably be expected; as *Junius* has declared to the world, "that he was "the *ſole depoſitory* of his ſecret," and "that it ſhould *periſh with him*," and as Mr. H. S. Woodfall has lately permitted his brother to acknowledge for him, that he *does not know* who was the author of *Junius* *. The only evidence, therefore, of

* Mr. William Woodfall in one of his letters, which appeared laſt autumn in the *Morning Chronicle*, tells the publick, "that the writer of *Junius promiſed his brother*, "*that he would one day let him into his ſecret*," and that *when that*

of which Mr. H. S. Woodfall can be poſſeſſed, is the manuſcript of *Junius*, which if he has got, he does not chooſe to produce, becauſe he *perfectly well knows*, that there is *ſome* ſimilitude between it, and the common hand-writing of Mr. Boyd, and becauſe from thence he apprehends that if it were compared with Mr. Boyd's diſguiſed hand, ſome proofs of which Mrs. Boyd has in her poſſeſſion, the reſemblance would appear too ſtriking, to admit of a doubt, that the manuſcript of *Junius* was written by Mr. Boyd. But Mr. H. S. Woodfall has informed me, that he *did not preſerve* the MSS. of *Junius**; and as I have certainly no right to queſtion *the truth* of this declaration, I truſt the publick

that day comes, he will expoſe all our errors ! ! — *Junius* then, in Mr. Woodfall's opinion, is ſtill living: but, what ſignifies the opinion of Mr. Woodfall on this ſubject, when he does not acquaint us with the grounds on which he has formed it; and when he confeſſes he *does not know who was the writer of Junius*.

* This he told me, in the courſe of a converſation I had with him on the ſubject, at his own houſe, at Chelſea, in May 1798.—Mr. William Woodfall, and a young lady, were preſent.

will

will be satisfied with the opinion of those who had opportunities of examining *Junius*'s hand writing, and who must be perfectly disinterested in the present discussion.

With regard to Mr. H. S. Woodfall having said, "that he did not believe Mr. "Boyd was *Junius**," I shall only observe, that his belief in this matter is of little consequence, as he has doubtless very *sufficient reasons* for wishing to keep the publick in the dark respecting the author of *Junius*, and as I presume he will not upon his honour deny, that he once thought Mr. Boyd was that very person, nor that he did not notice in the letters of *Democraticus*, some of the characteristical features of *Junius*'s composition. The following anecdote will at once refresh Mr. Woodfall's memory, and justify the foregoing observations.

* In the Preface to the former edition of Mr. Boyd's Life, I stated, that Mr. H. S. Woodfall had declared to me, that he did not believe Mr. Boyd was the author of *Junius*.

In the year 1780, when Mr. Almon's paper, entitled the *London Courant*, was in agitation, the late Mr. Stratford Canning, (uncle to the preſent under ſecretary of ſtate) by deſire of many diſtinguiſhed perſonages, ſolicited Mr. Boyd to conduct it,—which he refuſed, promiſing, however, to write for it. A few days after he had made this promiſe, walking the ſtreet with a friend or two, they met Mr. H. S. Woodfall, ſtopped, and entered into converſation, which turning upon the new paper, Woodfall looked Mr. Boyd *full in the face*, and then ſaid,—"Almon expects to overſet all "the other papers, for he ſays *Junius* is to "write for the *Courant*." The gentlemen who were preſent on the occaſion, were ſtruck ſo forcibly with the impreſſive manner in which Woodfall ſpoke, that they were convinced, he confidently believed Mr. Boyd to be the author of *Junius*.

Thus every reader will know what weight to give to the late declaration of Mr. H. S. Woodfall on this ſubject; and thus have I endeavoured to clear my argument from an

objection of ſome apparent, though not of any real, ſtrength.

As moſt of the facts which I am now going to ſubmit to the publick, reſt on the teſtimony of Mrs. Boyd, it is very eſſential to mention, that ſhe is living, and that every one who has any knowledge of her character will admit, that ſhe is in every reſpect the very beſt evidence that can be wiſhed for, in a diſcuſſion of this kind. And I can with truth affirm, that with regard to the controverſy about the author of *Junius*'s letters, ſhe is entirely free from that partiality by which ſhe may be ſuppoſed to be influenced, though her reverence for truth obliges her to avow, that ſhe is convinced Mr. Boyd muſt have been the real writer of thoſe papers.

In the latter end of the year 1768, the author of *Junius*'s letters commenced his correſpondence with the *Publick Advertiſer*; and on the 21ſt of January 1769, the firſt letter under the ſignature of *Junius* appeared in that paper. During the years 1769 and 1770, he alſo wrote occaſionally

in

in the ſame paper under the ſignatures of *Lucius* and *Brutus*, and he ſometimes ſent communications to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, without any ſignature at all. The letters under the ſignature of *Philo Junius*, he has himſelf acknowledged *, were his own productions. He likewiſe wrote private letters to ſome diſtinguiſhed perſons, under the ſignature of *Junius*, which were tranſmitted to them through Mr. H. S. Woodfall.

Now it is a certain fact, that Mr. Boyd commenced his correſpondence with the *Publick Advertiſer*, preciſely at the ſame period of time with *Junius*. In the winter of 1768, he ſent ſeveral letters to Mr. Woodfall; the contents of which he kept a ſecret from Mrs. Boyd. In the beginning of January 1769, he was at great pains in accuſtoming himſelf to diſguiſe his handwriting. He uſed frequently in the courſe of a forenoon, to come from his ſtudy, in which he had locked himſelf up, into the parlour; and ſhewing Mrs. Boyd ſome ſlips

* See the Preface to *Junius*, in page 1, of Woodfall's edition.

of paper on which he had written, would aſk her, whether ſhe thought he had diſguiſed his hand? She told him, that he had diſguiſed it ſo completely, that none but *thoſe who were very well acquainted with his common hand* would *ſuſpect* the writing to be his.

When the controverſy between Sir William Draper and *Junius* took place in the month of February 1769, and when the letters of *Junius* thereby became the conſtant converſation in all the literary, political, and faſhionable circles in London, Mr. Boyd evinced the *greateſt anxiety*, about the letters which he was at that time writing for the *Publick Advertiſer*, and he practiſed *a peculiar* ſecrecy, both with regard to their contents, and to the mode of tranſmitting them to Mr. Woodfall. In the courſe of the controverſy, Mrs. Boyd begged of him to take in the *Publick Advertiſer*, as ſhe was deſirous to read the letters of *Junius* as they came out; *but this requeſt, notwithſtanding her repeated entreaties, he thought it prudent to decline:* and it was not till two years afterwards, that by *mere dint of importunity*, ſhe

ſhe overcame his ſcruples, and prevailed on him to take in that paper. Yet he himſelf always manifeſted much ſolicitude to ſee the letters of *Junius*; and frequently, on the day after he had ſent a letter to Woodfall, he would walk out pretty early, and upon returning home to dinner, tell Mrs. Boyd with an *animated countenance*, "*That Junius* "*was announced for to-morrow.*"

With Sir William Draper, and every thing that concerned him, Mr. Boyd was well acquainted: and he often ſpoke to Mrs. Boyd about Sir William's controverſy with *Junius*, obſerving, that the Knight richly merited the laſhing he received, and that he had compelled *Junius* to ſay more of Lord Granby's character than he originally wiſhed,—for, that *Junius* reſpected Lord Granby *.

In the ſummer of 1769, when the letters of *Philo-Junius* firſt appeared, Mr. Boyd repeatedly told Mrs. Boyd, *in confidence*,

* When the letters of *Junius* were publiſhed in volumes, the very ſame obſervations appeared in a note to *Junius*'s reply to Sir William Draper's letter of the 27th February 1769.

that

that she might *rely upon it* they were written by *Junius* himself, for that it was necessary to make the publick suppose he had an *auxiliary* *.

During the autumn and winter of 1769, Mr. Boyd continued to send letters to the *Publick Advertiser*, almost every week, superscribed in his disguised hand, and with the aforesaid secrecy. And at this time, he used eagerly to seek opportunities of introducing the subject of *Junius*, in his private conversations with Mrs. Boyd. He would ask her opinion of different letters, and desire her to point out the passages in them she most admired; and he always seemed gratified with her remarks upon them, whether of censure, or praise. "In short," says Mrs. Boyd, in a letter to me, in which she has detailed those conversations, "whatever subject our *private* conversations began with, we *always ended with Junius*; "and it is not credible that a person, *wholly* "*unconcerned* with that production, could

* This, as it has been already stated, turned out to be strictly true.

have

" have ſhewn, for ſo many years, ſuch an " extraordinary degree of intereſt about it." This circumſtance is greatly ſtrengthened by the fact, that Mrs. Boyd was the only perſon in whoſe preſence he ever betrayed any of thoſe ſymptoms of paternal regard for the letters of *Junius*, which have been mentioned; and that in company with his literary friends, *particularly with Mr. Wilkes*, he talked of *Junius* with the moſt perfect indifference.

On the 19th of December 1769, *Junius*'s letter to a GREAT PERSONAGE, made its appearance, and ſet the whole town in a ferment. Miniſters ſpared no expence, no trouble, no ſecret arts, no means whatever that either their ingenuity could ſuggeſt, or the publick purſe ſupply, to diſcover the author. Treaſury ſpies were ſtationed in every place where there was the ſmalleſt likelihood of gaining intelligence reſpecting him; and every exertion was made to intercept his correſpondence with Woodfall, whoſe office, at the corner of Ivy-lane, was for that purpoſe cloſely watched.

Mr.

Mr. Boyd at this time carried on his correſpondence with the *Publick Advertiſer*, with a caution ſo ſtudied, and a ſecrecy ſo impenetrable, as to ſurpriſe Mrs. Boyd, and make a laſting impreſſion on her mind. After writing in his ſtudy for ſeveral days together, he would aſk Mrs. Boyd to take a walk with him, often in the duſk of the evening, and ſometimes at night; and after having conducted her to ſome by-way, or unfrequented ſtreet, would ſtop, as if ſuddenly recollecting himſelf, and ſaying, "*he had a "letter to ſend to Woodfall,*" took a large packet from his pocket, and put it into *a remote* penny poſt-office. At other times he would give it to Mrs. Boyd, and deſire her to carry it to the corner of Ivy-lane, and put it into Woodfall's letter-box. When they returned home, Mrs. Boyd often hinted to him, that ſhe *ſuſpected he was Junius*, to which he made no reply, but would ingeniouſly change the converſation. Once or twice, when he was aſking her opinion of ſome *favourite paſſages* in *Junius*, ſhe has told him, that ſhe wiſhed *he was Junius*, at which

which he would ſmile, and only ſay—"*Should you?*"—"Unfortunately," ſays Mrs. Boyd, in a letter to me, "I always added, "that if he was *actually Junius*, I ſhould "never forgive him, for keeping the ſecret "from me; and this I imagine was one "ſtrong reaſon for his not diſcloſing it to "me, after all the buſtle about *Junius* had "ſubſided." "Sometimes," continues Mrs. Boyd, "on going to dinner, or ſupper, and "finding him writing in his ſtudy, I have "gone to the deſk, aſking queſtions, on "which he would *immediately cover his* "*writings*, and ſay ſomething lively about "female curioſity. Sometimes he wrote "under other ſignatures, and would aſk me to "copy what he had compoſed, and which were "ſent in my hand-writing to Woodfall. In "particular, I copied a letter addreſſed to Sir "FLETCHER NORTON, on his being choſen "Speaker of the Houſe of Commons *." This took place in the month of March

* This letter, together with ſeveral others of Mr. Boyd's that appeared at different times in Mr. Woodfall's paper, ſhall be preſented to the publick in the courſe of this year, as a third volume to theſe works.

1770.

1770. Throughout the remainder of that year, and during the ſpring of 1771, Mr. Boyd continued to write, with the moſt unremitting diligence and ſecrecy, and to tranſmit what he had written to Mr. Woodfall, by the ſame methods that I have already mentioned.

In April 1771, he was under the neceſſity of going to Ireland, for ten days, on very urgent buſineſs. Yet, his correſpondence with Mr. Woodfall was of too much importance to be neglected: for, in that ſhort ſpace of time he ſent Mrs. Boyd *three large packets*, with the *moſt particular injunctions*, to put them *immediately* into Woodfall's letter-box.

In the month of June 1771, he took a houſe at Kenton-Green, near Harrow. In the courſe of this ſummer, it is well known that the controverſy took place between Mr. Horne and *Junius*. Reſpecting that controverſy, Mr. Boyd manifeſted the utmoſt eagerneſs; and while it laſted, he uſed, for ſeveral days together, to lock himſelf up in his ſtudy immediately after breakfaſt, and never make his appearance again until dinner was announced.

nounced. When he had finiſhed what he was writing, he would walk into London with it, and walk back the ſame day *. In talking to Mrs. Boyd about Mr. Horne's long letter to *Junius*, he confeſſed "that "Mr. H. was an ingenious and able rea-"ſoner, but that *Junius*, notwithſtanding "this, had the better of him," obſerving at the ſame time, that *Junius*'s expreſſion *that "Mr. Wilkes ſhould be ſupported while he "was a thorn in the King's ſide*," was both very unguarded and unfortunate.

In the beginning of November 1771, Mr. Boyd borrowed from a neighbour of his at Kenton-Green, a great many folio books of law, and ſtate trials, which he uſed daily to examine with the moſt ſedulous attention, and from which he made ſeveral extracts, for the purpoſe, Mrs. Boyd thinks, of ſupporting the charge that *Junius* had too haſtily made againſt Lord Mansfield, on account of his Lordſhip having *bailed* Mr. JOHN EYRE. It is neceſſary here to remind the reader, that *Junius* in a ſhort

* Mr. Boyd was a great walker. He would often walk thirty miles in a day, without being fatigued.

letter to Lord Mansfield, dated the 2d November 1771, concludes in the following words. "If ever Mr. Eyre ſhould be "brought to trial, we ſhall hear what you "have to ſay for yourſelf; *and I pledge my-"ſelf before God and my country*, in proper "time and place, to make good my charge "againſt you."—About eight days after the publication of this letter, the following notice appeared in the *Publick Advertiſer*.

November the 9th, 1771.

"*Junius engages* to make good *his charge* "againſt *Lord Chief Juſtice Mansfield*, ſome "time before the meeting of parliament, in "order that the Houſe of Commons may, "if they think proper, make it one article "in the impeachment of the ſaid *Lord Chief "Juſtice*."

Now between the date of this notice, and the 21ſt of January 1772, the only letter from *Junius* which appeared in the *Publick Advertiſer*, was a ſhort one to the Duke of Grafton, and the laſt one indeed that he ever addreſſed to his Grace. It is dated the 27th November 1771. From this time till the

20th

20th of January following, Mr. Boyd's whole time was occupied in examining the law books and ſtate trials above mentioned, and in writing with his uſual ſecrecy for the *Publick Advertiſer*. *Junius*'s elaborate letter to Lord Mansfield, in which he ſtrove hard to *make good his charge againſt him*, is dated the 21ſt January 1772: about three weeks after the publication of this letter Mr. Boyd went to Ireland; and *Junius* ceaſed to write under that ſignature for the *Publick Advertiſer*.

The abrupt manner in which *Junius* concluded his letters, occaſioned much obſervation at the time, and many a plauſible conjecture has been made concerning it. The general opinion, however, was, that he had either died, or quitted the country; and hence one or two gentlemen have been ſuppoſed to have written thoſe letters, who, I believe, never in their lives wrote a line for Mr. Woodfall's paper. But, when we know that Mr. Boyd was *Junius*, the matter is eaſily accounted for. On his return from Ireland in March 1772, he found his friend Mr. Lauchlin Macleane had made an amicable

ble adjuſtment of his differences with the Duke of Grafton, and had gone over to the miniſtry; he was therefore induced to decline all further hoſtility towards his Grace, and to abandon his intention, as it is conveyed in *Junius's* laſt letter to him, of attacking him again upon *the ſale of the patent to* Mr. HINE. And it is obſervable, that though Mr. Boyd, in his political writings now publiſhed, pointedly attacks all the other perſons who are ſatirized by *Junius*, he never once mentions the name of Grafton. Beſides this motive for his diſcontinuing to write under the ſignature of *Junius*, there was another which, perhaps, operated ſtill more powerfully on his mind. In the beginning of 1772, his pecuniary misfortunes and difficulties crowded upon him from every quarter; and this circumſtance, together with his being obliged at this period to go frequently to Ireland, abſolutely diſabled him from beſtowing that time and attention on his literary purſuits, which he had ſo ſucceſsfully employed during the three preceding years, and without which he felt he could neither ſupport with his wonted

wonted vigour, ſo arduous a conteſt, nor preſerve that ſecrecy which he was well aware his perſonal ſafety required. And doubtleſs he alſo conſidered that by continuing to write as *Junius* he might, from thoſe cauſes, poſſibly lower, but could not, under ſuch circumſtances, eaſily heighten the reputation which his talents had gained to that ſignature.

Still, however, he carried on his correſpondence with Woodfall during ſome part of the year 1772, with the ſame caution he had before obſerved. But, after the letters of *Junius* were publiſhed collectively for Woodfall with the Dedication, Preface, and Notes by the author, he ſeemed as if his mind had been relieved from a burden, and he never again was at *ſo much pains* to conceal from Mrs. Boyd *the contents* of the letters he occaſionally tranſmitted to the *Publick Adverti ſer*.

On the very day that the above mentioned edition of *Junius* was publiſhed, he brought home a copy of the work, and preſented it to Mrs. Boyd, with an animation in his countenance that beſpoke a kind

of

of regard for it, which none but its author could be ſuppoſed to have felt. In looking over the letters Mrs. Boyd was much ſtruck, with finding an anecdote related in one of the notes, relative to Lord IRNHAM and *one of her guardians*, which ſhe had in confidence *communicated to Mr. Boyd*, and which ſhe knew had been very ſtudiouſly kept ſecret by the parties concerned. This note was added to the laſt letter which *Junius* addreſſed to the Duke of Grafton; and in order that the reader may the more clearly comprehend the circumſtance it records, I beg leave to cite it *verbatim*. "There is a *certain family* in this country," ſays *Junius*, "on which nature ſeems to "have entailed an hereditary baſeneſs of diſ-"poſition. As far as their hiſtory has been "known the ſon has regularly improved "upon the vices of his father, and has "taken care to tranſmit them pure and "undiminiſhed into the boſom of his ſuc-"ceſſor. In the ſenate their abilities have "confined them to thoſe humble ſordid ſer-"vices, in which the ſcavengers of the mi-"niſtry are uſually employed. But in the

"memoirs

" memoirs of private treachery they ſtand " firſt and unrivalled. The following ſtory " will ſerve to illuſtrate the character of " this *reſpectable family*, and to convince " the world, that the preſent poſſeſſor has " as clear a title to the infamy of his an- " ceſtors as he has to their eſtate. It de- " ſerves to be recorded for the curioſity of " the fact, and ſhould be given to the pub- " lick as a warning to every honeſt mem- " ber of ſociety.

" The preſent Lord Irnham, who is now " in the decline of life, lately cultivated the " acquaintance of a younger brother of a fa- " mily with which he had lived in ſome degree " of intimacy and friendſhip. The young " man had long been the dupe of a moſt " unhappy attachment to a common proſti- " tute*. His friends and relations foreſaw " the conſequences of this connection, and " did every thing that depended on them to " ſave him from ruin. But he had a friend " in Lord Irnham, whoſe advice rendered " all their endeavours ineffectual. This

* The noted POLLY DAVIS.

" hoary letcher not contented with the en-
" joyment of his friend's miſtreſs, was baſe
" enough to take advantage of the paſſions
" and folly of the young man, and *perſuad-*
" *ed him to marry her.* He deſcended even
" to perform the office of father to the
" proſtitute. He gave her to his friend
" who was on the point of leaving the king-
" dom, and the next night lay with her
" himſelf."

" Whether the depravity of the human
" heart can produce any thing more baſe
" and deteſtable than this fact, muſt be left
" undetermined until the *ſon ſhall arrive at*
" *his father's age* and *experience.*"

The family herein alluded to, (the name I forbear to mention) conſiſted of three brothers, who were Mrs. Boyd's guardians, and in whoſe welfare and happineſs ſhe and Mr. Boyd were by conſequence much intereſted. It was the youngeſt of the three who was Lord Irnham's particular friend, and whoſe friendſhip his Lordſhip ſo *faithfully* and *honourably* requited. The noble Lord, however, had yet decency enough to conceal the circumſtance of the marriage from the cenſorious

eye

eye of the publick; and he therefore exacted a promiſe from the parties, never to mention the particulars of it to any one. But the brothers of the unfortunate young man ſuſpecting what had happened, importuned him ſo cloſely about it, that he at laſt confeſſed the whole of the tranſaction, and minutely related to them every thing concerning it. Yet they ſuppreſſed their reſentment towards Lord Irnham, becauſe they could not make the matter publick, without expoſing the weakneſs of their brother: and for this reaſon, they adopted every poſſible precaution to prevent the ſtory from going beyond the family. Nevertheleſs, Mrs. Boyd having been always conſidered as one of the family, it was not concealed from her; and ſhe told it in confidence to Mr. Boyd, with preciſely the ſame minuteneſs with which it is detailed in the note above quoted, a ſhort time before the author's edition of *Junius* was publiſhed. Shocked at the infamous conduct of Lord Irnham, and feeling for the unhappy ſituation of the young man himſelf, no leſs than for the diſhonour which had been put

upon a family with which Mrs. Boyd was ſo intimately connected, he was naturally deſirous of reſenting the injury his Lordſhip had done them, and he well knew that his pen was the only weapon, by which a heart like his Lordſhip's could be rendered ſore.

If then we conſider, that it was not only Lord Irnham's intereſt, but his wiſh, to bury the ſtory in oblivion, that it was *peculiarly* the intereſt of Miſs DAVIS to conform to his wiſhes, and that in fact his Lordſhip was ſo well convinced of *Junius* having received his information from the other party, *that he ſent the young man a challenge*, —it amounts, I think, to a moral certainty, that the ſtory was communicated to *Junius*, by the family themſelves: and, therefore, calling to mind all the foregoing evidence in proof of Mr. Boyd having been the author of *Junius*, and at the ſame time coupling the circumſtance of Mrs. Boyd having minutely related to him all the particulars of this ſtory, with the fact, that ſhe was the only perſon not immediately living in the family to whom theſe particulars were told,

told, and with the motive, as above explained, for his making them publick,—it muſt *at leaſt* be admitted, that there is the very ſtrongeſt probability, of his having written the note in queſtion.

There are yet ſome other circumſtances, which I conceive it to be of importance to ſtate. — When the information was filed againſt Mr. Almon, for having ſold ſome of the monthly magazines, into which *Junius*'s addreſs to His Majeſty had been copied, Mr. Boyd ſhewed great anxiety about him, but did not however attend his trial, for a reaſon which I think Mr. Almon has ſatisfactorily explained in his firſt letter to me on this ſubject*. But when Mr. Woodfall's trial commenced, a few weeks afterwards, he attended it with the utmoſt ſolicitude†.

In *Junius*'s Dedication, the author obſerves,—" that the King may poſſibly be

* See the Appendix to the Life.

† Mr. Boyd uſed to relate, that when Woodfall aſked Sir John Day, (then Mr. Day), his opinion of his caſe, the learned gentleman replied, " There was only a hair's breadth between it and treaſon, but that it was a *horſe hair*."

" adviſed

" adviſed to diſſolve the preſent parliament " *a year or two* before it expires of courſe, " and precipitate a new election, in hopes " of taking the nation by ſurpriſe."—Now Mr. Boyd went over to Ireland in September 1774, and on the 30th of that month a proclamation was *very ſuddenly* and *unexpectedly* iſſued for diſſolving the parliament; upon which he *immediately* wrote to Mrs. Boyd, *triumphantly* reminding her, that *Junius* had predicted the diſſolution.

From this period, until the year in which he left England for India, he uſed occaſionally to converſe with Mrs. Boyd reſpecting *Junius*; and in thoſe converſations he always aſked her to point out to him the paſſages ſhe moſt admired. A few weeks before he embarked for India with Lord Macartney, he burnt, with his own hands, ſeveral large bundles of manuſcript papers, which, ſince the time that *Junius* ceaſed to write, he had kept carefully locked up; and he was ſo very particular in deſtroying them, that he ſtood over the fire, until they were entirely conſumed, taking the greateſt poſſible

poſſible care, that not even the ſmalleſt ſhred of them ſhould eſcape the flames.

Some years after Mr. Boyd had gone to India, a paragraph * appeared in a morning paper, entitled the *General Advertiſer*, purporting, "that *Junius had certainly* accompanied Lord Macartney to Madras, that "he poſſeſſed the moſt retentive memory, "and that he was an Iriſhman." When Mrs. Boyd ſaw this paragraph, ſhe knew it alluded to Mr. Boyd, and fearful, leſt the diſcovery of his having written the letters of *Junius*, might be prejudicial to his proſpects in India, ſhe ſent a friend to the printer of the *General Advertiſer*, to requeſt he would not in future inſert in his paper any paragraph alluding to Mr. Boyd. And at the ſame time ſhe wrote to Mr. Boyd, enclоſing him this paragraph, and urging him, if what it ſtated *was not true*, to contradict it without delay; as he muſt be ſenſible, if ſuch a report gained credit, it would materially injure his beſt intereſt. But, to this requeſt, though ſhe frequently re-urged it to him,

* See this paragraph in Mr. Almon's firſt letter in the Appendix.

ſhe

ſhe never obtained a reply. He anſwered all the other parts of her letters; but that which related to *Junius* he conſtantly paſſed over in ſilence. Can it then be believed, that if he were *not Junius*, he would have perſiſted in not attending to Mrs. Boyd's earneſt intreaties, when they ſo forcibly appealed to his feelings? If he were not *Junius*, by what motive could he have been actuated, in remaining deaf to a ſolicitation, at once proper and neceſſary, and coming from her to whom he never in his life denied any thing elſe? If he were not *Junius*, ſurely he would have either complied with her requeſt, or treated the above mentioned paragraph with ridicule. It may indeed be ſaid, that he only wiſhed to gratify an idle vanity, by endeavouring to make her believe he was *Junius*; but vanity is ever too active and reſtleſs, to confine itſelf within ſo narrow a circle: had he been deſirous of being looked upon as the author of *Junius*, his vanity would infallibly have prompted him to hint his wiſhes to others, as well as to Mrs. Boyd. Beſides, his mind was far above that little ſordid ſelfiſhneſs, which

which induces ſome men ſecretly to wiſh, that they might be conſidered by their friends as the authors of ſuch anonymous writings as have attained celebrity. In truth, he was always deſirous to conceal, even from Mrs. Boyd, that he had written thoſe performances which we now know to be his, but which he never acknowledged, until the proofs againſt him were too ſtrong to be denied. Even the love of fame, that fine incentive of generous minds, could not betray him into an oſtentatious diſplay of virtue, nor induce him to practiſe thoſe arts that court applauſe *.

Such are the circumſtances which reſt upon the evidence of Mrs. Boyd; and from this plain ſtatement of them, the truth of the following *facts*, which are eſſential to the point at iſſue, appears to be fully eſtabliſhed.

1ſt. That Mr. Boyd kept up a conſtant correſpondence with Mr. Henry Sampſon Woodfall, during the three ſucceſſive years

* Ne famam quidem, cui etiam ſæpi boni indulgent, oſtentanda virtute, aut per artem quæſivit.—*Tacit. in Vita Agricolæ.*

in

in which the letters signed *Junius* appeared in his paper, intitled the *Publick Advertiser*.

2d. That almoſt the whole of Mr. Boyd's time and attention, during thoſe years, were occupied in that correſpondence.

3d. That both before the commencement, and during the continuance of that correſpondence, Mr. Boyd took great pains in accuſtoming himſelf to diſguiſe his hand-writing.

4th. That from the time the firſt letter under the ſignature of *Junius* appeared, until the author of *Junius* publiſhed the whole of his letters in volumes, the *numerous letters* which Mr. Boyd ſent to Woodfall, were written with the moſt impenetrable ſecrecy; that thoſe letters were ſuperſcribed in his diſguiſed hand-writing; and that they were conveyed to Woodfall's office, very often by Mrs. Boyd herſelf, and always with a caution and ſcrupulouſneſs, proportioned to the degree of activity with which government at different periods endeavoured to diſcover the writer of *Junius*.

5th. That at the *preciſe time Junius* diſcontinued to write, Mr. Boyd likewiſe ceaſed

ed to write for the *Publick Advertiſer*, with that conſtancy, ſecrecy, and attention which from the *very week*, that *Junius* began to correſpond with it, he had invariably obſerved.

6th. That the anecdote reſpecting Lord Irnham and Polly Davis, which is related in a note to one of *Junius*'s letters, *muſt have been written* by Mr. Boyd.

7th. That he always ſhewed, when in company with Mrs. Boyd, a degree of anxiety and care about the writings of *Junius*, which no one but the author himſelf can be ſuppoſed to have felt; though in the preſence of every other perſon he liſtened to whatever was ſaid about *Junius* with the greateſt apparent indifference.

8th. That Mrs. Boyd repeatedly told him, ſhe had ſtrong ſuſpicions he was *Junius*; but that to all ſhe ſaid on that ſubject he was totally ſilent.

This is the ſum of Mrs. Boyd's evidence; and the only part of it which ſeems to require explanation, is that which relates to Mr. Boyd having carried on his correſpondence

ſpondence with Woodfall in a diſguiſed hand-writing.

We are extremely apt to imagine, that a diſguiſed hand-writing muſt neceſſarily be a cramped one, or muſt at leaſt ſhew ſome diſtinguiſhing mark, by which a perſon who is in the conſtant habit of examining a variety of manuſcripts, ſhall know it to be feigned, although he ſhould not be acquainted with the writer's uſual hand-writing. But this notion is, ſurely, very fanciful and erroneous: for, in the firſt place, it is not true, that a diſguiſed hand-writing has always a cramped appearance;—being an attainment which can be acquired only through conſtant practice, practice will render it eaſy, and eaſe will of courſe free it from every thing like labour or reſtraint: and, in the next place, before any perſon can determine whether or not a hand-writing be diſguiſed, it is abſolutely neceſſary, either to be familiarly acquainted with the writer's common hand-writing, or to have an opportunity of attentively comparing the one with the other. Now, with reſpect to the caſe in queſtion,

queſtion, the fact is, that Mr. Boyd's diſguiſed hand-writing has not any ſtriking peculiarity *diſtinct from* his common hand-writing; there is nothing in the one, which would attract the notice of a perſon who *had not been* in the conſtant habit of ſeeing the other;—but, a perſon who *had been* in that habit, would immediately diſcern the reſemblance between them; or a perſon of penetration, to whom the diſguiſed hand-writing had once *been familiar*, would, upon a *cloſe inſpection* of the common one, be ſatisfied, that they were very much alike.

The following evidence, fully juſtifies this account of Mr. Boyd's hand-writing, and at the ſame time proves that the manuſcript of *Junius* ſtrongly reſembled it.

Mr. Almon was very familiarly acquainted with Mr. Boyd's common hand-writing, at the time of the original publication of *Junius*'s letters; and he declares that at that period he had an opportunity of ſeeing the manuſcript of *Junius*, which to him appeared

peared to have a ſtrong ſimilitude to Mr. Boyd's hand-writing *.

Mr. T. BURTON, of Gate-ſtreet, Lincoln's-inn-fields, a very reſpectable maſter-printer, has declared to me in the preſence of another gentleman,—that he was a journeyman printer in Mr. H. S. Woodfall's office, at the time of the original publication of *Junius*'s letters; that he was one of the compoſitors employed on thoſe letters; and that he uſed frequently to remark to his fellow-journeymen, how much the hand-writing of *Junius* reſembled his own;—and he moreover told me, that if he ſaw the hand-writing again, he was confident he ſhould know it. I then ſhewed him ſome of Mr. Boyd's *diſguiſed hand-writing*, which he inſtantly ſaid, "he ſincerely believed to "be the ſame hand as the manuſcript of "*Junius*:" I alſo compared Mr. Burton's own hand-writing with Mr. Boyd's, to which it certainly bears an obvious affinity. Conſidering Mr. Burton's evidence of ſome im-

* For the detail of this evidence, ſee Mr. Almon's firſt letter in the Appendix to the Life.

portance,

portance, I have examined him twice very closely on the subject, and have found him perfectly consistent and accurate.

The evidence of Mr. Almon, and Mr. Burton, in itself very strong, is corroborated by the testimony of Woodfall's foreman, who superintended the printing of the letters of *Junius*, and who says he has a perfect recollection of the manuscript of those letters, and that it resembled the hand-writing of Mr. Boyd.

Upon the whole, therefore, it appears clear, that the manuscript of *Junius* bore such a resemblance to Mr. Boyd's common hand-writing, as that those, *but those only* *, who were

* Mr. William Woodfall has publickly declared, "that "his brother Mr. H. S. Woodfall shewed him the whole "of the letters of *Junius*, in manuscript, and that they did "*not bear the appearance* of being written in a disguised "hand." But to have made his declaration of any importance in this investigation, he should have proved that the common hand-writing of Mr. Boyd had been familiar to him, before he saw that of *Junius*, and that they bore no resemblance to each other. Now the fact is, that Mr. *W. Woodfall* knew very little either of Mr. Boyd, or his hand-writing; and that he is consequently incompetent to determine, whether or not the MSS. of *Junius* was Mr. Boyd's disguised

were *very familiarly acquainted* with the one, would, upon *an examination* of the other, ſuſpect that they were both written by the ſame perſon. And the evidence of Mr. Burton of itſelf affords a ſtrong probability, that the letters of *Junius* were written in Mr. Boyd's diſguiſed hand.

That the author of *Junius* did in fact diſguiſe his hand-writing, muſt be evident to every man of obſervation. Would a man of his acknowledged ſagacity, have voluntarily placed himſelf at the mercy of Mr. Woodfall, by carrying on an important correſpondence with him in his ordinary hand-writing, which it was neceſſary for his perſonal ſafety to conceal? Would a perſon ſo well acquainted with mankind as he was, have put ſuch implicit confidence in Mr. Woodfall, as to carry on that corre-

diſguiſed hand-writing. His declaration then only proves, that the MSS. of *Junius* reſembled the diſguiſed hand of Mr. Boyd, inaſmuch as that there was nothing in it ſo peculiar as to attract the notice even of a perſon who was accuſtomed to examine different manuſcripts. For his expreſſion, "*that it did not bear the appearance of being diſ-*"*guiſed*," muſt mean, that the hand-writing in queſtion had no *ſtriking peculiarity*.

ſpondence

ſpondence in the ſame hand-writing in which he tranſacted his private buſineſs, and thereby to furniſh him with a key to that ſecret which it was his avowed intention never to divulge? If *Junius* had written his letters in his common hand, would he not have expoſed himſelf to unneceſſary hazard? By writing his letters in his common hand, would he not have run a great riſque of being detected, if any perſon well acquainted with it had chanced to have ſeen the manuſcript of *Junius*, or if Mr. Woodfall, or any of his printers had chanced to have met with any of his private letters or cards? How can it be imagined, that *Junius* was a man of ſo little foreſight, as to run theſe riſques, when, by diſguiſing his hand-writing he could completely ſecure himſelf from them, and even from being ſuſpected on account of his manuſcript,—except ſome one ſhould chance to ſee it, to whom his common hand-writing was *perfectly familiar?*—Now the fact upon this point, ſatisfactorily ſhews, that the author of *Junius* would certainly have laid himſelf open to detection, if by writing his letters

in his common hand, he had imprudently relied on the caution and secrecy of Mr. Woodfall: for, Mr. Woodfall not only made a practice of shewing the manuscript of *Junius* to his brother, and some other of his friends, but also of reading it, before publication, to people with whom he was very slightly acquainted: and in one instance in particular, he took one of *Junius*'s letters from his pocket, which *he said he had just received, and placing it on the table of a tavern, at a meeting composed of Bookfellers,* and *Printers of News-papers,* read it aloud to the company *.

The last evidence which I shall bring forward, is that of Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall himself; as his *negative testimony* in this question, is not wholly unworthy of observation.

I have already stated, that Mr. H. S. Woodfall has permitted his brother to confess for him, *that he never did, nor does not now, know who in reality was the author of Junius*; that it appears, he at one time sus-

* See this circumstance detailed, and its truth established in Mr. Almon's first letter in the Appendix.

pected

pected Mr. Boyd to be that very person; and that he has now an evident interest in concealing his suspicions from the world. These are facts unquestionable; and which, therefore, I have too great a respect for Mr. H. S. Woodfall's character, to suppose he would upon his honour deny.

In the beginning of May 1798, I wrote to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, informing him, that I was authorized by Mrs. Boyd, to collect and publish Mr. Boyd's political writings, and that I should therefore be greatly obliged to him, for his opinion with regard to Mr. Almon's assertion that Mr. Boyd was the *real author of Junius.* To this request I received no written answer; but in the course of a few days Mr. H. S. Woodfall called at my apartments in Leicester-square, when I chanced to be from home. I then called on him at his house at Chelsea, when he distinctly told me in the presence of Mr. William Woodfall and a young lady, "that *he* did not *believe* "Mr. Boyd was the author of *Junius*; "although he was *certainly a man of great* "*abilities.*" I asked him, if Mr. Boyd had

at any time ſent letters to the *Publick Advertiſer?* He replied "that Mr. Boyd had "ſent him *ſeveral* communications on the "affairs of India, in 1776, or 1777; but "that he did *not recollect* he had *ever ſent* "*him any letters* for the *Publick Advertiſer,* "*before thoſe years, or that he had ever writ-*"*ten on any other ſubjects,* than ſuch *as re-*"*lated to India.*" To this I made no anſwer; but proceeded to aſk him, if he had preſerved any of the manuſcript of *Junius? He ſaid he had not.* I aſked him, if he thought Mr. W. G. Hamilton was the author of *Junius?* He ſaid, "No, *moſt aſſur-*"*edly* HE *was not;* and as to the ſtory about "Hamilton quoting *Junius* to the Duke "of Richmond, *he knew it* to be a miſcon-"ception."—Such was the firſt converſation I had with Mr. H. S. Woodfall reſpecting Mr. Boyd; and I have related it *verbatim,* as I took it down on paper a few minutes after I left his houſe.

Nothing further paſſed between us, till the beginning of March 1799, when I again wrote to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, telling him, that as I knew it to be a fact, that Mr.

Boyd

Boyd had kept up a conſtant and uninterrupted correſpondence with the *Publick Advertiſer* from January 1769, till the ſpring of 1772, and that as I was authorized by Mrs. Boyd to requeſt he would point out any one of the numerous letters which Mr. Boyd had tranſmitted to him during that period, I begged he would favour me by doing ſo. He returned a polite verbal anſwer by my ſervant, ſaying I might rely on hearing from him in the courſe of ten days. After having waited upwards of two months for his anſwer, I called on him on the 10th of May 1799, at his houſe at Chelſea, in company with a friend of mine, whom I had purpoſely brought along with me, and upon whoſe accuracy in recollecting what ſhould paſs between Mr. Woodfall and me, I could place the moſt implicit reliance.

We found Mr. Woodfall alone: he ſeemed *not a little* diſconcerted at our viſit; and *immediately* told me "that he could recol- "lect *nothing whatever*, of any letters ſent "by Mr. Boyd to him, during the years "1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772; that

" that Mr. Boyd was *unqueſtionably a very* " *able writer*, though at the ſame time he " could not *give in* to the idea of his hav- " ing written the letters of *Junius*." I waved the *direct* queſtion about *Junius*, and told him " I only wiſhed him to point " out to me *any one* of the letters which " Mr. Boyd ſent to him in the courſe of " the years above mentioned." He repeated, " that he had *no recollection whatever of* " *any ſuch letters*." We then withdrew, fully ſatisfied that Woodfall had more knowledge of the letters I inquired for, than he choſe to avow.

Thus then Mr. H. S. Woodfall declines to give any account whatever of that long and cloſe correſpondence between him and Mr. Boyd, which I have incontrovertibly proved to have *commenced and ended preciſely at the ſame points of time*, with that which ſubſiſted between him and *Junius*. Mr. Woodfall has indeed permitted his brother to declare for him *, " That it is contrary to all cuſtom to break into the *confi-*

* See Mr. William Woodfall's letter, in the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 16th of Auguſt 1799.

dential

dential ſecrecy of a News-paper printer; and that I ought not therefore to be *ſurpriſed*, that he never anſwered queſtions, the avowed object of which was, to invite him to *betray the confidence* Mr. Boyd had *placed in him*."—What is this but a pretty plain admiſſion of the fact, that the letters which *he thinks* (Mr. H. S. Woodfall has ſaid he *did not know* that Mr. Boyd had written for the *Publick Advertiſer before* 1776) Mr. Boyd wrote during the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, and which appeared in the *Publick Advertiſer*, in thoſe years, were not intended by him to be acknowledged as his own productions, and that he (Mr. Woodfall) conſiders it would be *betraying the confidence* repoſed in him, to point out to the publick the letters in queſtion. This conduct on the part of Mr. H. S. Woodfall I am not at all diſpoſed to blame. I am ſure I did not wiſh him to deviate from what he conceived to be his duty, much leſs to betray any thing which he thought himſelf bound to conceal. I knew he had *very ſufficient motives* for being reſerved with reſpect to the author of *Junius*,

and

and I did not, therefore, imagine he would have told me the purport of that ſeries of letters which were ſecretly tranſmitted to him in the above mentioned years, more eſpecially when I aſſured him, that there was *poſitive evidence* of Mr. Boyd having written them. In truth, Mr. H. S. Woodfall has acknowledged as much concerning them as I expected, if not as much as I could have deſired; and his acknowledgements, together with Mrs. Boyd's evidence, have brought the general queſtion within a very narrow compaſs. For, as it is now aſcertained beyond all doubt, that Mr. Boyd wrote *a continued ſeries* of letters, with the greateſt poſſible ſecrecy, for the *Publick Advertiſer*, during the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, it remains only to determine what thoſe letters were, and under what ſignatures they appeared. Now the fact is, that there *was no other* writer but *Junius*, who ſent gratuitous contributions to the *Publick Advertiſer uninterruptedly and ſecretly* during *the whole* of thoſe three ſucceſſive years. How this fact came to my knowledge it is no way neceſ-

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ſary to inform the publick, becauſe Mr. H. S. Woodfall will not—*cannot*, IN TRUTH, deny it. As *Junius*, therefore, was the only writer who ſent letters to the *Publick Adverti ſer* within the period of time above ſtated, and according to the manner herein deſcribed; and as it has been proved that Mr. Boyd did conſtantly ſend letters to the *Publick Advertiſer*, during the whole of that time, and exactly according to that manner, it inevitably follows, that the letters which Mr. Boyd tranſmitted to that paper, in the courſe of that time, were thoſe very letters which then appeared in it, under the ſignatures of *Junius* and *Philo-Junius*, of *Lucius* and *Brutus*.

Such then is the detail of the whole of the evidence in this inveſtigation. Let the reader weigh well the facts that have been eſtabliſhed. In one view, let it be conſidered that Mr. Boyd was perfectly qualified in every reſpect to have been the writer of the letters of *Junius*;—that his avowed political writings bear ſo ſtriking a ſimilitude to thoſe letters, not only in the principles they inculcate, in the opinions they ſupport, and

and in the characters they praiſe or cenſure, but alſo in the energy and elegance of their ſtyle, and in the ſtrength and refinement of their ſpirit—that it muſt be preſumed they are the compoſitions of the ſame mind;—that his motives in writing the letters of *Junius*, and in concealing from the world that he was the author of them, were perfectly conſiſtent with the political principles he profeſſed, as well as with the political connexions he had formed;—that he actually kept up an uninterrupted correſpondence with the *Publick Advertiſer* during the three ſucceſſive years that *Junius* wrote for that paper;—that he carried on that correſpondence with the moſt impenetrable ſecrecy;—that the letters which he ſent to the *Publick Advertiſer* were ſuperſcribed in a diſguiſed hand, and were conveyed to Mr. H. S. Woodfall's office often by Mrs. Boyd herſelf, and always with the moſt extraordinary degree of caution;—that he at all times manifeſted to Mrs. Boyd, but to her only, an intereſt and anxiety about the letters of *Junius*, which no one but the author of them can be ſuppoſed to have felt;—that

often,

often, when Mrs. Boyd told him, she strongly suspected he was *Junius*, he invariably evaded the question;—that when it was reported in a publick paper, that he was *Junius*, though he knew that such a report might very materially injure his prospects in life, and though Mrs. Boyd most earnestly urged him to contradict it, he never took the smallest notice of it, and observed the most cautious silence with regard to all she said on the subject. In addition to these strong presumptive proofs, let it also be considered, that the resemblance between Mr. Boyd's disguised and common hand-writing, though not discernible by persons who were little acquainted with them, was perfectly obvious to those to whom either the one or the other was familiar; that Mr. Almon, who was in the constant habit of seeing Mr. Boyd's common hand-writing, and who saw the manuscript of *Junius*, positively declares there was a strong similitude between them; that on the other hand, the person who superintended the printing of the letters of *Junius*, who was consequently familiarized with the hand in which they were

were written, and to whom Mr. Boyd's common hand-writing has been ſhewn, declares there is a ſtriking likeneſs between them;—that a reſpectable printer, who was employed in printing the letters of *Junius*, declares that the manuſcript of thoſe letters, and the diſguiſed hand of Mr. Boyd appear to him to have been written by the ſame perſon: but above all let it be conſidered, that Mr. Boyd *muſt in fact have written*, that anecdote related by *Junius* reſpecting Lord Irnham;—that he in fact commenced and ended his correſpondence with the *Publick Advertiſer*, which he carried on with *ſuch ſecrecy, and without interruption, preciſely at the ſame points of time at which Junius began and ceaſed to write* for that paper; and finally as *Junius was in fact the only writer who wrote for the Publick Advertiſer, ſecretly and uninterruptedly, during the whole of the period that has been ſtated*, Mr. Boyd and *Junius* muſt conſequently have been one and the ſame perſon. Let all theſe facts be duly weighed, and let the reader bear in mind the evidence that has been adduced, as well as the arguments that have been

urged in support of them, together with the declaration of *Junius*, that he was the *sole depository of his own secret*, and *that it should perish with him*, and with the confession of Mr. H. S. Woodfall, that he *does not know who Junius was*, and with the fact that no well-founded objection has been made to the assertion that Mr. Boyd was the undoubted *author of Junius*, although two years have now elapsed since it was first broached; and lastly, with the equally important fact, that all the other persons to whom the letters of *Junius* have been attributed, are now dead, and that not a single circumstance has come to light, to justify the surmises upon which the belief of their having written *Junius* altogether rested. Let the whole be calmly and maturely taken into the reader's view, and I confidently trust that he will pronounce with me, that HUGH BOYD, AND HUGH BOYD ONLY, WAS THE REAL AUTHOR OF JUNIUS.

It remains, to say a few words relative to those to whom the letters of *Junius* have at different times been ascribed; in order to shew that the suppositions which have been

been entertained as to their having written thoſe letters, are not only unſupported by *any one fact*, but are, in truth, highly improbable.

Were I to enumerate all the perſons whom vague conjecture has occaſionally named, as the probable authors of *Junius*, I ſhould fill, at leaſt, a couple of pages to very little purpoſe. I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to thoſe only, whoſe talents, opinions, and connexions, gave a plauſible colour to the rumours, that they had written the letters of *Junius*.

Thoſe letters have been attributed to Lord Sackville, to Lord George Germain, to Mr. John Dunning, to Mr. Richard Burke, to Mr. W. G. Hamilton, to Mr. Edmund Burke, and, by a few people, to the learned Mr. Samuel Dyer. Of theſe gentlemen, the three laſt mentioned are the only ones reſpecting whom I conceive it neceſſary to make any obſervation.

Mr. W. G. Hamilton was unqueſtionably a man of conſiderable abilities, nor do I doubt, that he was fully capable of writing the letters of *Junius*, and I know his political

tical principles and opinions differed very little from thoſe which they invariaby maintain. But the only circumſtance which gave riſe to the ſuppoſition of his being *Junius*, was his having quoted, in converſation with the Duke of Richmond, a paſſage from one of *Junius*'s letters, before it appeared in the *Publick Advertiſer*. For the exact truth of this circumſtance I cannot take it upon me to vouch. I have, however, good reaſon to believe, that Mr. Hamilton had more than once heard a letter of *Junius*'s read to him before it was publiſhed, which ſufficiently explains the ſeeming myſtery, reſpecting the quotation he made to the Duke of Richmond. Thoſe who may not be ſatisfied with this explanation, will at leaſt give credit to Mr. Hamilton's own words; and it is a poſitive fact, that he *ſolemnly declared* on his death-bed,—"*That he was not "the author of Junius.*"

With regard to the ſuppoſition that Mr. Burke was *Junius*, it would be needleſs to ſay much. A thorough knowledge of the characteriſtick qualities of his great mind, and of his incomparable writings, as well as

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of those of the letters of *Junius*, were alone sufficient to convince every judicious reader, that he was not the writer of those performances. Of Mr. Burke's unrivalled talents, it has been well observed by the most eloquent philosopher, and one of the first writers of the present day, *that he was* "a writer who "was admired by all mankind for his elo- "quence, but who is, if possible, still more "admired by all competent judges for his "philosophy; a writer of whom I may just- "ly say, that he was GRAVISSIMUS ET DE- "CENDI ET INTELLIGENDI AUCTOR ET "MAGISTER *." This character may with perfect truth be given to every thing that Mr. Burke has written. Throughout all his various productions, the sober dignity of true philosophy prevails over every other excellence, brightening the driest details with the clear light of reason, and controuling the loftiest flights of imagination with the sovereign majesty of wisdom. *Junius*, though often grave, is never profound;

* See Mr. MACKINTOSH's admirable Discourse on the Study of the Law of Nature and Nations, introductory to a course of lectures on that science.

though

though he often preſents moral and political truths in the moſt alluring dreſs, he never examines their eſſence; though his precepts are often wiſe, his ſentiments noble, and his obſervations acute, he never penetrates beyond the ſurface of things: his prevailing excellencies are the preciſion and clearneſs of his reaſoning, the vigour, pungency, and terſeneſs of his ſtyle. In his argument he always confines himſelf to the point at iſſue, and even in his declamations he ſeldom digreſſes. Whereas Mr. Burke never wrote on any ſubject whatever, without ſearching it to the bottom, examining it thoroughly in all its minuteſt bearings, and finally tracing it to its remoteſt conſequences. It may indeed be ſaid, that Mr. Burke could have reſtrained the natural bent of his genius, and that he poſſibly thought popular letters, like thoſe of *Junius*, ſhould touch only upon thoſe ſimple and obvious principles by which men are actuated in common life, and ſhould therefore be addreſſed to the heart and the affections, rather than to the underſtanding. That he could have adopted any ſtyle and manner he

thought proper, his admirable imitation of Bolingbroke very ſufficiently proves; but that he ſhould have "*laboured*" *inceſſantly** for three whole years to write letters of a ſort ſo different from his other productions, as well as ſo inferior to them, in point of genuine and ſubſtantial merit, and that at a time when he had ſuch a multiplicity of important concerns to attend to, appears to me ſo very improbable, that, I confeſs, I am ſomewhat ſurpriſed that *his friends* ſhould ever have given the ſmalleſt degree of credit to the report; more eſpecially as the opinion of *Junius* on two material queſtions, was totally different from that which Mr. Burke and the Rockingham party ſtrenuouſly ſupported†.

If any thing be yet wanting to ſhew the improbability of Mr. Burke having written

* I have already ſhewn, that *Junius* himſelf acknowledges the labour which the compoſition of his letters had coſt him.

† Mr. Burke was, throughout his whole life, a decided and firm ſupporter of the ſeptennial act;—whereas *Junius* was a zealous advocate for triennial parliaments. Mr. Grenville's Colonial Laws were approved of by *Junius*, but *ſeverely condemned* by Mr. Burke.

the

the letters of *Junius*, let it be recollected that he himſelf *ſpontaneouſly* declared to Doctor Johnſon, "that he had no concern "whatever in thoſe letters *."

The conjecture that Mr. Samuel Dyer was the writer of *Junius*'s letters, is, I think, ſtill leſs plauſible than that which has been entertained reſpecting Mr. Hamilton or Mr. Burke.

Mr. Dyer was a citizen of London. He was the ſon of a reſpectable jeweller in Cheapſide, who having acquired a competent fortune, liberally employed it in the education of his children. The father being himſelf a zealous diſſenter, intended his ſon Samuel for the diſſenting miniſtry; and for that purpoſe placed him at Dr. Doddridge's academy at Northampton. He was afterwards ſent to the college of Glaſgow under the immediate care of the celebrated Dr. Hutcheſon, and he completed his ſtudies at Leyden, under the famous Schultens.

Mr. Dyer was eminently qualified to ſhine in the profeſſion for which his father

† See Boſwell's Life of Johnſon.

intended him; but having in the courſe of his philoſophical purſuits, become a ſceptick in religion, he relinquiſhed all thoughts of aſcending the pulpit, and launched at once into all the pleaſures and diſſipations of London. Being, however, a man of great talents, and of very extenſive learning, as well as of a refined taſte in literature, he neglected not to cultivate the acquaintance of thoſe whoſe minds were congenial to his own. He ſoon became known to Doctor Johnſon, Mr. Burke, and Sir Joſhua Reynolds, with the former of whom, he lived for ſome years on terms of great intimacy; and it is related by Hawkins and Boſwell, that the Doctor always looked up to him, on philoſophical ſubjects*. He ſeems to have been conſidered by Johnſon as a profound metaphyſician, and as a man deeply read in every branch

* Johnſon, in his Life of Watts, quotes the opinion of Mr. Dyer, reſpecting Watts's metaphyſical diſquiſitions. "It was obſerved," ſays he,—"by the late learned Mr. "Dyer, that Watts confounded the idea of *ſpace* with that "of *empty ſpace*, and did not conſider that, though ſpace "might be without matter, yet matter being extended "could not be without ſpace."

of ſcholaſtick knowledge; and it is obſerved by Hawkins, "that he converſed very "ably on moſt topics." But his abilities were rendered uſeleſs to himſelf and to the world by an habitual indolence, which his diſſipated courſe of life originally brought on, in which it was his delight to indulge, and which neither the ſolicitations of friendſhip, nor the calls of poverty could induce him to uſe any endeavours to conquer. The ſmall patrimony which his father had left him, being inſufficient to ſupport his expences, he was reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs; and Johnſon, in order to procure him ſome relief, ſtrongly preſſed* him to write the Life of Eraſmus, but all his perſuaſions were of no avail, he would not undertake it. He was, however, at laſt prevailed on to reviſe the old tranſlation of Plutarch's Lives, which he executed after many heavy complaints of the labour of the taſk, and for which he received from Draper, the partner of Tonſon, the ſum of

* See Hawkins's Life of Johnſon, from which the greateſt part of my information reſpecting Mr. Dyer is derived.

two

two hundred pounds. By the death of his mother he became poſſeſſed of 8000l. which he inveſted in India ſtock; and offered himſelf as a candidate for a ſeat in the court of Directors. But his proſperity was ſhort-lived. He entered into engagements for the purchaſe and ſale of ſtock; and from his total ignorance of buſineſs, he at once injured his reputation and loſt the whole of his property. This diſaſter he did not long ſurvive; and he died in the utmoſt indigence, "leaving not," ſays Hawkins, "in "money or effects ſufficient to defray the "expence of a decent funeral."

How a perſon of this deſcription, whom the ſtrongeſt poſſible incitements could never prevail upon to write any thing but a ſhort Preface to a tranſlation of Plutarch's Lives, ſhould have been ſuſpected of having written the letters of *Junius*, might ſeem a little ſtrange, if we did not know from what very ſlight and trivial circumſtances, ſuſpicions of this nature ariſe. I underſtand, however, that Sir Joſhua Reynolds ſuppoſed Mr. Dyer to have been *Junius*, becauſe he heard Mr. Dyer and

Mr.

Mr. Burke make the ſame remarks in converſation, which he afterwards found in *Junius*'s letters; becauſe Mr. Dyer's death happened a few months ſubſequent to the period at which *Junius* ceaſed to ſend letters to Mr. Woodfall; and becauſe Mr. Richard Burke went in great haſte to Mr. Dyer's apartments, the inſtant he heard of his death, and requeſted as a very particular favour of his executors, that he might be permitted to deſtroy a ſealed box of papers belonging to the deceaſed, which he ſaid was of the utmoſt importance to him, but could be of no ſervice to any one elſe. As theſe circumſtances were related to me, merely on report, I cannot pretend to ſay whether they are authentic or not; but if they had any influence with Sir Joſhua, he muſt ſurely have been unacquainted with the true character of Mr. Dyer, which precludes the belief of Mr. Burke and his brother having connected themſelves with him in a literary undertaking, which required ſuch unremitting attention, as that of the letters of *Junius*.

I hope

I hope the reader is fully satisfied, that neither Mr. W. G. Hamilton, Mr. Edmund Burke, nor Mr. Samuel Dyer, had any concern whatever, in composing the letters of *Junius*; and that the fact of HUGH BOYD having been the *true* and *only* author of those productions, will by consequence appear the more evident. And I now close this investigation, with the entire consciousness that every part of the evidence which I have brought forward, is founded in the strictest veracity; and with the firm conviction, that the facts established by that evidence will bear me out in the conclusion I have drawn.

IT has been already mentioned that Mr. Boyd took a house at Kenton-Green, near Harrow, in the summer of 1771. At this place he resided for upwards of five years, both with a view to avoid the expences of a town life, and to be near the sons of a deceased sister, who were, during that period, at Harrow school. For these youths he

he ſhewed all the tenderneſs, anxiety, and provident care of a father. He never miſſed an opportunity of having them at his table, when he had company calculated either to improve their minds, or to afford them innocent amuſement: and he was particularly attentive, in preventing them from coming to his houſe, when he had parties with him who were either too jovial in their pleaſures, or too free in their converſation,—forgetting not the admonition of JUVENAL—

Nil dictu fœdum, viſuque hæc limina tangat,
Intra quæ puer eſt.———
Maxima debetur puero reverentia.———

Some months after the letters of *Junius* were publiſhed collectively, Boyd met Sir William Draper at the tennis-court, where their acquaintance was originally formed in the year 1769, and where (being both great tennis-players) they uſed often to meet, the converſation turning upon *Junius*, Sir William obſerved, "that though *Junius* had "treated him with extreme ſeverity, he now "looked upon him as a very honeſt fellow, "—that he freely forgave him for the bitter-

" neſs of his cenſures, and that there was no " man with whom he would more gladly " drink a bottle of old *Burgundy* *." Boyd took no notice of the obſervation; but after playing at tennis till a late hour, he propoſed to Sir William, that they ſhould dine together at a favourite tavern. The Knight readily conſented to the propoſal; and he enjoyed his Burgundy, while Boyd had the inward ſatisfaction of doing juſtice to his candour, as well as to his wiſhes.

Mr. Boyd at this time uſed to be much in the ſociety of Armſtrong and Goldſmith, eſpecially with the latter, whoſe ill ſtate of health had induced him to take a country lodging at the Hide, on the Edgware-road, about three miles diſtant from Kenton-Green. Goldſmith often walked acroſs the fields to Mr. Boyd's, and would paſs ſeveral days with him. Their converſation, as may be readily expected, was always on literary and critical topicks; and Goldſmith uſed to inform Boyd of the different works he had

* This was Sir William's favourite wine. The *bewitching ſmiles of Burgundy*, had an irreſiſtible influence on his heart.

in

in contemplation, and to relate to him all that paſſed at the celebrated *Literary Club*, in Gerrard-ſtreet. On theſe occaſions, Boyd obſerved, "that his friend Goldſmith never "committed any of thoſe abſurdities, nor "betrayed any of that idle and clumſy af- "fectation of wit, which too frequently ren- "dered him the ſport of Richard Burke, "Garrick, and the other wicked wags at the "*Club* *." Goldſmith uſed to criticiſe Pope's epiſtolary ſtyle; and once that he dined at Boyd's, he condemned it in ſevere terms, and gave a ſpecimen of what a familiar letter ſhould be.

A few months before Goldſmith's death, Boyd having heard from Richard Burke, that *little Noll*, as they uſed to call him, had been ſeverely attacked at the Club, and that he meditated a poetical reply, immediately went to him, in order to diſſuade him from an attempt, in which he conceived there was little chance of his ſucceeding. He found

* Goldſmith had no talent for repartee: yet he could not diveſt himſelf of that ridiculous notion, too prevalent in the learned world,—that when a man of genius is in company, *it is neceſſary* he ſhould be a wit.

him

him buſily employed in giving the laſt poliſh to ſome parts of his well-known and admirable poem of *Retaliation*, which the Doctor read to him in great triumph, requeſting his opinion as to its merits. Boyd told him that he thought the aggreſſors extremely reprehenſible, and that they were entitled to no quarter; but fearful leſt the ſeverity with which he had drawn the characters of the Burkes, would not only put an end to the friendſhip which ſubſiſted between them and Goldſmith, but likewiſe diſturb the harmony which prevailed in the Club, induced him to ſoften ſeveral expreſſions, and intirely to caſt anew the character of William Burke. As Goldſmith had an high opinion of Boyd's critical taſte, he was much pleaſed with the emendations he had ſuggeſted; and he begged of him to call again in a few days, when the poem ſhould be completed, that he might ſubmit the remainder of it to his peruſal, and that they might read the whole of it over attentively together. But Goldſmith did not live to carry his plan into execution. He died, unexpectedly, of a nervous fever; and when his

his friend Boyd, who had not heard even of his illneſs, called on him at the appointed time, a ſingular circumſtance occurred. He inquired of the maid-ſervant who opened the door at Goldſmith's lodgings, whether the Doctor was at home? ſhe anſwered, *yes.*—. He aſked, if he might ſee him? and ſhe made the ſame reply; upon which he ran up ſtairs, when on entering his apartment he was ſhocked beyond deſcription, at ſeeing poor Goldſmith extended in his coffin.

This event took place in March 1774. In the courſe of this year Boyd paid greater attention than he had yet done to the ſtudy of the law; and though he diſliked the practice of that profeſſion, his pecuniary neceſſities, together with the advices of his friends, ſeemed for a while to prevail over his natural inclination. Nevertheleſs, he did not withdraw himſelf, either from the literary, or faſhionable circles with which he had been accuſtomed to aſſociate; and his ardour for politicks ſtill continued unabated. He conſtantly attended the Houſes of Parliament, but merely for his own gratification

tification and amuſement: and the day after an important debate, he uſed to write down, intirely from memory, the ſpeeches of thoſe great men, whoſe political opinions accorded with his own, and whoſe eloquence he moſt admired. Some of thoſe ſpeeches he occaſionally publiſhed; and the extraordinary accuracy with which they were reported, aſtoniſhed all who had heard them. There was, in particular, one ſpeech of Lord Camden's in the Houſe of Lords, on the diſpute with the American Colonies, of which, when it was publiſhed, Mr. Burke, who had heard it, declared *in Boyd's preſence*, that not only the ſentiments, but the expreſſions were ſo exact in every part, that his Lordſhip muſt have written it himſelf. He was afterwards informed that Boyd had reported it.

Mr. Boyd was ſuch an enthuſiaſt in politicks, that he actually ſacrificed both his private pleaſures and perſonal convenience, in attending the proceedings in parliament. At a particular time, when the orders of the Houſe of Commons were extremely ſtrict, in excluding all ſtrangers, except Iriſh mem-

members*, he attempted to gain admittance, by paſſing for one; but the door-keeper knew

* Before the year 1770, ſtrangers were ſeldom or ever admitted into the gallery of the Houſe of Commons; and no regular accounts of the proceedings in Parliament were ſuffered to be printed in the newſpapers until the year following, when a circumſtance occurred that induced Parliament to comply with the wiſhes of the people, by allowing their debates to be publiſhed in the daily papers. The Printer of the *London Evening Poſt*, having been ordered to attend at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, for a breach of privilege, in having printed a report of their proceedings, he poſitively refuſed to obey their ſummons, upon which they ſent a meſſenger to take him into cuſtody. But the Printer, foreſeeing what would happen, applied to Mr. Wilkes, then an alderman of London, to afford him his protection, in caſe the meſſenger ſhould attempt to take him by force. As it was expected, the meſſenger inſiſted on taking the Printer into cuſtody; the Printer charged him with an aſſault, and a conſtable inſtantly appeared, who took the meſſenger to the Manſion-houſe, before the Lord-Mayor, (Croſby) Alderman Oliver, and Mr. Wilkes, who would have committed him without heſitation, had he not been bailed by the Deputy Serjeant at Arms. The Houſe of Commons, in conſequence of this, ſent the Lord-Mayor and Alderman Oliver to the Tower, *not chuſing to touch Mr. Wilkes*; but finding the ſpirit of the people riſe high againſt their proceedings, they deemed it prudent to releaſe the Lord-Mayor and Oliver, to give up the conteſt, and

knew him too well to be deceived by the ſtratagem, and refuſed to let him enter the Houſe. Boyd, as it was his cuſtom, endeavoured to ſoften the man into compliance, when GEORGE DEMPSTER, (then one of the Directors of the Eaſt-India Company) happening to paſs at the time, and overhearing what was ſaid, rebuked the door-keeper, and aſked Boyd his name. Having gone too far to recede, he replied, *Wilſon, member for Antrim,* which name Mr. Dempſter gave to the Speaker, and then uſhered Boyd up to the gallery, where he of courſe remained unmoleſted. The next morning he went to breakfaſt at Mr. Lauchlin Macleane's, where he had hardly ſat down, when Mr. Dempſter was announced; and fearful of being diſcovered, he thought it prudent to make a precipitate retreat, to the no ſmall ſurpriſe of Macleane, who knew nothing of the circumſtance that had taken place the preceding evening. Boyd and Dempſter afterwards became acquainted.

and in future to ſuffer their debates to be publiſhed. *See a particular Account of this Affair in Mr. Almon's* Literary, Biographical, and Political Anecdotes.

Yet

Yet he was not so much occupied with politicks, as to neglect the elegant pursuits of polite literature, or the tender duties of private friendship. He had formed an intimate acquaintance with Mr. HARTSON, (author of the tragedy of the Countess of Salisbury, a piece which still holds its place on the stage) a young man of fine parts, great accomplishments, and amiable manners; and who, before the age of thirty, had made the tour of Europe three times. Being of a consumptive habit, and at this time in extreme ill health, Mr. Boyd invited him to his house at Kenton-Green, that he might have the benefit of change of air: but his malady was too far advanced to admit of any cure; and neither the power of medicine, nor the soothing, but cheerful friendship of Boyd, could afford him any effectual relief. After living many weeks at Kenton-Green, Mr. Hartson returned to town, and died in a few days, without leaving any other effects, than a few manuscript poems and plays, to GRIFFIN the bookseller, whom he had appointed his executor, and to whom he had probably been indebted.

ed. Boyd knowing Hartſon's diſtreſſed circumſtances, called on Griffin the moment he heard of his death, and generouſly offered his ſervices. Griffin begged he would order and manage the funeral, which he did, and for which Griffin afterwards refuſed to pay, ſcandalouſly, if not falſely, pleading in excuſe, that the manuſcripts were of no value. Boyd's friendſhip for the deceaſed, would have amply compenſated in his mind for the loſs he had thus ſuſtained, if his own wants had not been already ſo numerous, and at the ſame time ſo rapidly increaſing. For this was not the only inſtance in which he met with ſtill heavier loſſes, through his ardent and unbounded generoſity, through his love of literature, and his admiration of genius: and once or twice, indeed, by allowing artful, needy, and *falſe friends* to take advantage of the eaſineſs and moderation of his temper, he reduced himſelf to the greateſt diſtreſs, in order to reſcue them from that doom, the utmoſt rigours of which, their baſe and ſhameleſs ingratitude ſubſequently proved them to have deſerved.

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On all thoſe occaſions, however, he had many real friends, whoſe prompt and active kindneſs ſoon extricated him from his difficulties.

With his friend Mr. Stuart, of Hampſtead, he uſed at this period, very conſtantly, to aſſociate; and at his cheerful and hoſpitable table he enjoyed the ſociety of his old friends Lauchlin Macleane and the excellent Doctor Armſtrong, together with many other gentlemen, diſtinguiſhed for their genius and learning. Theſe literary parties, after paſſing ſome days at Hampſtead, would often, at the ſuggeſtion of Armſtrong, remove their ſittings to the Devil-Tavern, in Fleet-ſtreet, a houſe much noted as the reſort of the wits of thoſe days, where they concluded their claſſick revels, with the ſame ſpirit and harmony with which they had commenced them.

Mr. Stuart told me, that Armſtrong and Boyd uſed to have long critical diſcuſſions about the ſtyle of *Junius*, which the Doctor always cenſured, as being too affected and ſententious, and which Boyd invariably, but calmly, defended, as being the beſt adapted

to the ſubject to which it was applied. Yet I have often heard him expreſs his high opinion of Armſtrong's exact critical diſcrimination, and fine taſte; though on political ſubjects he ſaid they never agreed, as the Doctor was a ſtaunch Tory,—but he uſed to add,—he was a *liberal Tory*.

It was his practice, however, to avoid politicks as much as poſſible in private company, and he was always particularly cautious in what he ſaid of publick characters;—but for Lord Chatham's abilities and virtues, his veneration was ſo high, that he could not ſuppreſs his indignation, when he heard any attempt made to lower them.

In January 1775, he publiſhed the firſt of thoſe ſpeeches of Lord Chatham's, which are inſerted in this volume. His Lordſhip delivered it on the 20th of that month, on Lord Dartmouth's motion for an addreſs to his Majeſty, "beſeeching him to open a way "towards the ſettlement of the troubles in "America." Of this ſpeech, the wonderful powers of his memory, together with his having long accuſtomed his mind to Lord Chatham's "peculiar energy of ſtyle and "ſentiment,"

" ſentiment," enabled him to retain the moſt perfect recollection; and Lord Temple, and many others who heard it, uſed to ſay, that Mr. Boyd's report was *verbatim* as it was ſpoken: but it is, if poſſible, ſtill more extraordinary, that after eighteen years had elapſed, I have heard him repeat the greateſt part of it. Mr. Boyd's mode of writing down ſpeeches from memory, was altogether peculiar, and therefore deſerves to be recorded. He never took any notes of the ſpeeches he had heard; but after attending a long debate in parliament, he would ſup at a tavern with ſome friends, return home at two or three in the morning, go to bed directly, riſe about ſeven, and write down ſuch ſpeeches as he had moſt admired in the courſe of the debate, without once looking at any of the newſpaper reports, to facilitate his recollection. This is an abſolute fact, which many of his friends have often witneſſed.

It may perhaps be aſked, how a man of ſuch uncommon abilities, never got any publick employment in this country? And how he came to be overlooked by his friends

in high life? But thoſe who beſt know the road to preferment, will eaſily reſolve theſe queſtions, when they are informed, that there was nothing he ſo much diſliked, as ſoliciting favours from the great; and that there was nothing ſo repugnant to his feelings, as the idea of being politically connected with men whom he deſpiſed. And every man of the world knows full well, by what ſlow degrees, unaſſuming genius, or indigent virtue, obtain the patronage of the powerful and the rich.—

HAUD facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obſtat
Res anguſta domi.—

Yet, though Boyd was ſo little anxious, it may be ſo blameably careleſs, about the advancement of his own private fortune, he was indefatigably zealous in promoting the views of his friends, and the intereſts of his country; no man ever loved the one with more ſincerity, or the other with greater ardour.

Nor in attending to theſe home-felt concerns, did he overlook the leſſer duties of humanity. Every action of his life, be-

ſpoke

ſpoke the benevolence of his mind. Poverty never came to his houſe unaided, virtue unhonoured, nor vice unreproved.

The following anecdote will place, in a conſpicuous point of view, the mild courage, the manly tenderneſs, and the dignified liberality that marked his character.

He was walking alone one day, acroſs Kilburn-Fields, on his way from Kenton-Green to Hampſtead, when he was ſtopped by a footpad, with a crape over his face. The manner in which the footpad accoſted him, induced Boyd to ſuppoſe it his firſt offence; and inſtead of being diſconcerted or alarmed at the piſtol which he had preſented at his breaſt, he harangued him in gentle but ſtrong terms on the impropriety of his conduct, till the man, ſenſibly touched with his language, withdrew the piſtol. Boyd then gave him his money, but endeavoured to diſſuade the man from taking his watch, as it was a preſent from a particular friend, which would be of little value to him, and by which he would run the riſque of being detected. The footpad, however, pleaded the extreme poverty of his family,

family, and Boyd at laſt gave him the watch, together with a ſolemn injunction regarding his future conduct.

On giving notice ſome days afterwards, at Fielding's office, he found the man was a new offender, as he had conjectured; notwithſtanding which, he ſoon forgot the advice that he had given him, committed other robberies, and was at laſt taken up, tried, and condemned, as Mr. Boyd had foretold, by the evidence of the pawnbroker with whom he had pawned the watch.

The dread of approaching death at laſt ſoftened the unhappy culprit into repentance and contrition, and called forcibly into his recollection Mr. Boyd's injunction, which he had diſregarded; but having ſtill ſome hopes in that tenderneſs which had been before expreſſed for him, he ſent his wife to Mr. Boyd, who fell on her knees, begging him to ſave her huſband, as he had been a man of good character, whom nothing but the miſeries of his family could have tempted to go on the highway, and who ſincerely intended, when he had procured a ſum of money ſufficient to relieve him from his

misfortunes,

misfortunes, to return to his buſineſs of carpenter in Woolwich-yard, whither ſhe referred Mr. Boyd for a character of her huſband, and whither he immediately went. The character he got of the man was excellent; and he brought away a petition in his favour, ſigned by the curate, and ſome of the principal workmen in the yard. Two friends of Mr. Boyd's, Mr. GLENNY and Mr. JOHN BOWMAN, joined him in his exertions to ſave this unfortunate man, and were no leſs aſſiduous about the matter than himſelf. Boyd wrote to Sir John Day, who ſent him a letter to Sir George Wombwell, from whom he procured an introductory letter to Lord Sandwich. He loſt not a moment in calling on his Lordſhip; but finding he had gone to Woolwich, Boyd purſued him thither, was deſired to call the next day in town, which he did, when his Lordſhip received him with great politeneſs, promiſed to intercede for the deſired pardon, and accordingly obtained it. Boyd then, accompanied by his friend Mr. Glenny, viſited the man in Newgate-cells, who manifeſted great ſorrow for his crime,

and

and abundant gratitude towards his benefactor. Boyd returned from the cell, deeply impreſſed with the horror of the ſcene he had witneſſed.

The footpad, however, was pardoned, but not reclaimed. In the courſe of a few years, he betook himſelf to his former practices; was firſt condemned to the hulks for burglary, and *at laſt hanged* for having been concerned in robbing the dock-yard at Portſmouth;—affording a ſtriking example of the inefficacy of clemency towards the prevention of crimes, in thoſe who have once been initiated in the practices of vice, and of the difficulty of bringing back to the ways of honeſty, he who has once been immured in the cells of Newgate.

Shortly after this event, an affair happened, which for a while greatly intereſted the publick mind, and which gave Mr. Boyd another opportunity of exerciſing his humanity.

In the month of June 1775, the famous trial of the two brothers ROBERT and DANIEL PERREAU, for forgery, commenced at the Seſſions-houſe in the Old-Bailey.

Bailey. They were indicted for being concerned in forging several bonds and notes in the name of Mr. ADAIR, the agent. It were tedious to enter into the particulars of this curious case, which will be found very fully detailed in *Dodsley's Annual Register, Vol. 20th.* It is sufficient to state here, that Mrs. RUDD, the mistress of Daniel Perreau, a woman of exquisite charms, but of great art and wickedness, was, by her own confession, the person who forged the bonds; but the jury, being fully satisfied of the Perreaus being privy to the forgery, or that they at least had connived at it, brought in their verdict, "Guilty of publishing and "uttering the bond, knowing it to be "forged."—Though these unfortunate young men were found guilty, they were not mentioned in any report to his Majesty, till the month of December following, probably, because some doubts had arisen on the legality of trying Mrs. Rudd, who claimed the privilege of having become King's evidence, notwithstanding her not having been called upon at the trial. This question involved points of so much importance, that it was deemed

deemed requiſite to take the opinion of the twelve Judges upon it, who after ſome deliberation determined, that Mrs. Rudd was not intitled to the advantages of King's evidence. She was accordingly tried, and for want of ſufficient evidence, acquitted. Her trial laſted from nine in the morning till near eight in the evening: and when the jury brought in their virdict of *Not guilty*, the audience teſtified their approbation by the loudeſt applauſes that were ever known in a court of juſtice; excited, I ſhould imagine, rather from a ſympathy with the ſufferings of penitent beauty, than from a conviction of her innocence: for it is a fact, that many circumſtances of unheard-of deception came to light, after her acquittal. Theſe circumſtances induced Mr. Boyd, as well as many others who had attended the trials, to believe the Perreaus were innocent; and their dignified firmneſs, and pious reſignation, had ſo great an effect on Boyd, that he warmly intereſted himſelf in their favour.

A moſt moving petition was preſented to her Majeſty, in favour of Robert Perreau,

by

by his wife and three children, in deep mourning, and another in his favour likewise by seventy-eight capital bankers and merchants of the city of London. Respecting these petitions, the Privy-Council were divided in opinion; and Lord Suffolk was said to be in favour of the petitioners. To that noble Lord, therefore, Mr. Boyd addressed several letters on this afflicting subject, which appeared in the *Publick Advertiser*, which are written with his usual force and elegance, and which were much noticed and admired at the time. Yet notwithstanding all that was urged in extenuation of the misconduct, if not in proof of the absolute innocence of the unhappy culprits, they were included in the next report to his Majesty, and ordered for execution on Wednesday the 27th of January 1776. They accordingly suffered death at Tyburn on that day with calm and manly fortitude, and after the most solemn affirmations contained in two papers, which each delivered to the Ordinary, that they were intirely innocent of the crime for which they died.

Mr.

Mr. Boyd's regret and diſappointment at this melancholy cataſtrophe, ſeemed proportioned to the ſtrenuous zeal with which he had endeavoured to avert it.

In the courſe of the year 1775, he had viſited Cambridge, where he had an opportunity of enlarging his acquaintance with men of ſcience and literature; and where he received from St. John's College the degree in A. M. *adeundem*, as being a Maſter of Arts of Trinity College, Dublin. He here became acquainted with the preſent Marquis of ABERCORN, with whom he afterwards lived on terms of great intimacy.

In January 1776, he was called to the bar, where, however, he never practiſed, as well for the cauſes which I have before explained, as on account of the many extrinſick difficulties which were thrown in his way. But politicks ſtill continued to occupy a great part of his attention.

He went to Ireland in the ſpring of 1776, for the expreſs purpoſe of attending the general election, as well as of giving his vote in the county of Antrim, to his friend Mr.

Mr. Wilſon, and of managing the canvaſs on his ſide. Previous to the election, he publiſhed the *Freeholder*, of which I have already given an account, and which had ſuch an aſtoniſhing influence on the electors of Antrim, that he found little difficulty in carrying the cauſe of his friend, notwithſtanding the *weighty* and *ſterling* arguments of the oppoſite party.

Mr. Wilſon and the preſent Lord Henry Seymour Conway, were choſen for the county, and Mr. Skeffington was thrown out. The conteſt was conducted with peculiar diſcretion: and it was remarked at the time, that it was the only county-election in that part of Ireland, which had ever been concluded without a duel; and which was attributed to the mild and poliſhed manners of Lord H. S. (then Mr.) Conway, and of Mr. Boyd, who after oppoſing each other the whole day, with the utmoſt ardour and animation, would retire from the conteſt in perfect good fellowſhip.

On Mr. Boyd's return to London, he found parties in parliament running high, and

and the politicians without doors in a ferment, reſpecting the memorable DECLARATION, by the repreſentatives of the United States of America, in general Congreſs aſſembled, wherein they aſſigned their reaſons for withdrawing their allegiance to his Majeſty. He loſt no time in ſending a few letters to the *Publick Advertiſer*, on that important ſubject; which, however, he wrote with little care, owing to the multiplicity of private affairs in which he was then engaged. He alſo drew up a ſpirited manifeſto in the name of GENERAL WASHINGTON, which was inſerted in the *Publick Advertiſer*, which attracted a vaſt deal of attention, and which was for ſome time believed to be genuine. Thoſe who are converſant in the party politicks of that time, will remember this manifeſto, as well as the credit, which, for a while, it obtained with the publick.

In the beginning of 1777, he gave up his country reſidence at Kenton-Green, and took a houſe in Norfolk-ſtreet in the Strand. And about this time, at the particular deſire

of

of his friends Mr. Lauchlin Macleane * and Mr. Stuart, he wrote one or two letters relative to the diſpute between the Eaſt-India Company and Mahommed Alli Khaân, the Nabob of Arcot, which he ſent to Mr. Woodfall, and which appeared in the *Publick Adverti ſer*. Theſe letters are written in a plain eaſy ſtyle, ſetting forth in a perſpicuous and forcible manner, the claims of his Highneſs the Nabob, but occaſionally throwing ſarcaſtick reflections on the conduct of ſome gentlemen then at Madras, who had borne a conſiderable ſhare in the buſineſs alluded to, as well as of the odium which was attached to it. He likewiſe wrote a pamphlet †, explanatory of the conduct of the Nabob, both as it regarded the depoſition of the Rajah of Tanjore, and the impriſonment of LORD PIGOT ‡, Governor of

* Mr. Macleane was the Nabob's accredited agent in England.

† This pamphlet I have not yet been able to find: but Mr. Stuart informed me it was a very ingenious and maſterly performance.

‡ On the 24th of Auguſt 1776, Lord Pigot was arreſted, with circumſtances of peculiar violence, by order of

of Madras; ſhewing his Highneſs's right of ſovereignty over the former, whom he conſidered as his vaſſal, and exonerating him from the charge of having been concerned in the hoſtile proceedings of the Council at Madras againſt the latter.

Soon after this Mr. Macleane went to India, for the purpoſe of accommodating matters between the Company and the Nabob, and of bringing his Highneſs's debts into a train of liquidation. Before his departure, he made ſome arrangements with Boyd, in reſpect to the means of ſupporting the Nabob's cauſe in this country, and of keeping alive the publick intereſt concerning it: and he found himſelf under ſo many

Meſſrs. George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, and George Mackay, then members of the council at Madras, and confined under a military force in his *own government*, in which degrading ſituation he died, after a rigorous impriſonment of nine months, and a ſhort time before the order of the Court of Directors for his releaſe, arrived at the Preſidency. *See the particulars of this extraordinary tranſaction, impartially, though not fully, nor altogether accurately detailed, in Dodſley's Annual Regiſter, Vol.* 20, *and an authentick Account of Lord Pigot's Death in Vol.* 21, *of the ſame Work.*

obligations

obligations to Boyd, that he faithfully promiſed him he would, upon his return from India, aſſiſt in clearing him from all his pecuniary difficulties. This promiſe did great honour to Macleane's heart, and I doubt not he would gladly have fulfilled it; but he never again ſaw him. The ſhip on which he had embarked at Madras for England, was never heard of, after ſhe left the Cape of Good Hope, and muſt conſequently have foundered at ſea.

The attention which Boyd thus paid to Indian politicks, did not, however, occupy any great part of his time; for he neglected not his uſual amuſements.

As he now reſided in town, he conſtantly frequented the cheſs club, and during this year aſſociated very much with his old friends the Duke of Ancaſter, the Earl of Aſhburnham, and Count Bruhl.

At this period, too, he was more in the ſociety of the Burkes, than he had heretofore been; as he not only was much at their own houſes, but alſo met them at Sir Joſhua Reynolds's, to whoſe literary parties he was often invited, and by whom, as I have be-

fore ſtated, he was greatly admired. At Sir Joſhua's he once or twice met Johnſon; and notwithſtanding the Doctor's toryiſm, and his ſevere attack on *Junius*, no man held his genius and virtues in greater reverence than Boyd; which circumſtance, in my mind, ſufficiently accounts for the ſilence of *Junius*, reſpecting Johnſon's animadverſions on his writings.

Boyd's fine taſte in Painting peculiarly recommended him to the notice of Sir Joſhua Reynolds, who uſed to have frequent converſations with him on the ſubject, and who uſed to aſk his opinion of the pieces on which his own maſterly pencil was employed. And his diſcriminating judgment in this delightful art, the following anecdote will ſerve to ſhew.

He went once with a party to Audley-End, the ſeat of Sir John Griffin, to ſee a collection of very fine paintings, and particularly ſome figures of Venus, in different attitudes, by an eminent artiſt. On viewing the firſt, he obſerved, "that there was "an extraordinary degree of animation in "the countenance," adding, "that the Ve-

"nus's of fancy generally wanted that qua-
"lity." On examining the other figures of the goddeſs, he made the ſame remark; when the conductor told him with a ſmile,—"You
"are very right, Sir,—the dairy-maid, a
"beautiful young woman, ſat for all thoſe
"pictures."—The Painter fell in love with *his Venus*, and carried her off with him.

Nor was Mr. Boyd's taſte in literary compoſition leſs exquiſite, than in painting. At the memorable trial of the unhappy DODD, he was ſo much ſtruck with the eloquence of his defence, and ſo much perſuaded that it muſt have been written by Johnſon, that when he returned home, he committed it to paper. A few days afterwards it was publiſhed, with a notification of its being the compoſition of Dr. Johnſon; and when the original was compared with Boyd's report, from memory, they were found to be *word for word the ſame*. A more convincing proof of an acute diſcernment, a refined taſte, and a moſt tenacious memory, will not, I believe, be found in the whole range of biographical hiſtory.

He

He was extremely fond, as I have ſhewn, of being preſent at all intereſting trials; but he never allowed that amuſement to interfere with his attendance in the Houſes of Parliament; for the love of politicks ſtill ſwayed his mind.

On November the 20th, 1777, he attended the debate in the Houſe of Lords, at the opening of the ſeſſion; and when he went home, he wrote down Lord Chatham's celebrated ſpeech on that occaſion, together with the noble Earl's reply to Lord Suffolk, which, however, he did not publiſh till the year 1779.

He was alſo below the bar of the Houſe of Lords, on that MEMORABLE DAY in 1778, when the wiſeſt STATESMAN, and, perhaps, the moſt accompliſhed ORATOR, either of ancient or modern times, made his dying exertions, in ſupport of the freedom, the honour, and the glory of his country, and whoſe voice was no more heard in the ſenate-houſe.—*Illud immortalitate dignum ingenium, illa humanitas, illa virtus Craſſi morte extincta ſubita eſt, vix diebus decem poſt eum diem, qui hoc et ſuperiore libro*

libro continetur. Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox, et oratio, quam quaſi expectantes, poſt ejus interitum, veniebamus in curiam, ut veſtigium illud ipſum, in quo ille poſtremum inſtitiſſet, contueremur *.

When Lord Chatham fainted, the Houſe was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion. Aſſiſtance was called for from behind the bar, and Mr. Boyd immediately offered his ſervices, which, however, were not afterwards required. The noble Earl was conveyed to his ſeat at Hayes in Kent, and expired on the 11th of May.

In 1779, Mr. Boyd publiſhed his *Genuine Abſtracts* of the aforeſaid Speeches of the Earl of Chatham, with a Preface and Notes. They were printed in the form of an *octavo* pamphlet, for J. Dodſley. Before the pamphlet was put to preſs, he apologized to his old acquaintance Mr. Almon, for not giving it to him;—ſaying, "that as he (Mr. Almon) had been perſonally known to Lord Chatham, the publication by him

* Cic. de Orat. lib. iii. ſ. 1.

might

might ſeem to inſinuate it was with the concurrence of his Lordſhip's friends, which not being the fact, his delicacy would not permit to be inferred."

The ſame year he was recommended by Mr. Stuart and Mr. James Macpherſon *, to the five depoſers † of Lord Pigot, not only to plead their cauſe in Weſtminſter-Hall, but alſo to write a pamphlet to endea-

* The Tranſlator of the celebrated Poems of OSSIAN, and at this time agent to the NABOB of ARCOT.

† On the 16th of April 1779, Admiral Pigot, brother to the unfortunate nobleman in queſtion, moved, in the Houſe of Commons, an Addreſs to his Majeſty, praying "that "he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions to his "Attorney General to proſecute the five depoſers of Lord "Pigot," whoſe names have been already mentioned. Mr. Stratton, the principal perſon concerned in that affair, being a Member of the Houſe, and preſent in his place on the occaſion, entered into a long vindication of his own, and of his colleague's conduct, which, however, did not ſatisfy the Houſe, and the Admiral's motion was carried without a diviſion. Mr. Stratton and his friends were accordingly proſecuted. The trial came on in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Mansfield, on the 20th of December 1779, at nine in the morning, and laſted till ſeven the next morning, when the jury returned their verdict GUILTY. They were, however, ſentenced only to pay a trifling fine.

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vour to efface the odium which had been thrown upon their characters. But Mr. DUNNING, being their leading Counſel, they thought it unneceſſary to employ any one elſe: and owing to a particular circumſtance, which it is not material to relate, Boyd declined writing the pamphlet.

But he had now a proſpect of procuring a ſituation, which would have opened the road to his ambition, and for which his great abilities were peculiarly well ſuited. Governor Patterſon and Mr. Flood uſed their utmoſt intereſt to get him appointed under-ſecretary of ſtate, in Lord George Germaine's department; and for that purpoſe, he was recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms to his Lordſhip, by a friend who had great influence with him. Nevertheleſs, all the efforts that were made in his favour, proved unſucceſsful, owing to ſome *hidden cauſe* *, of which, as I know not the exact truth, I ſhall not attempt to develop. The failure of this buſineſs

* This cauſe, I ſtrongly ſuſpect, will be explained, when Mr. Chalmers publiſhes his *documents*, in proof of Mr. Boyd having written the letters of *Junius*.

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gave infinitely more concern to his friends, than to himſelf; for as his political ſentiments differed widely from thoſe of the adminiſtration, it was with the greateſt difficulty Mr. Flood perſuaded him to agree to the application being made; but the deplorable condition of his affairs, and the hopes of ſerving his family, at laſt induced him to yield to his friends intreaties.

After this affair dropped, he ſent ſeveral letters to the *Publick Advertiſer* ſigned *Democraticus*, ſome of which I have inſerted in this collection of his writings, and have already ſpoken of much at large.

In the winter of 1779, and the ſpring of 1780, he wrote the letters of the *Whig*, which he addreſſed to the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, and which, as has been ſtated, appeared in Mr. Almon's morning paper, intitled, the *London Courant*. Theſe were his laſt political productions which merit any attention; but he afterwards publiſhed, in the ſame paper, a few letters ſigned *Kitty Backpinch*, in ridicule of the Scotch, which, although they would be unintereſting now, furniſhed a vaſt deal of amuſement at the time.

Having,

Having, by ſome accident, ſnapt the *muſculus plantaris* of his leg, he was deſired by his friend JOHN HUNTER, to recline daily on a ſopha; and although he was in extreme pain, it was in this ſituation that he wrote thoſe humorous letters. After his recovery, he dined at Mr. Lee's, where there was a hoſt of Scotchmen at table. The converſation turned upon *Kitty Backpinch*'s epiſtles, which occaſioned much laughing and many pleaſantries. Several conjectures were made about the author, but the ſuſpicion never fell upon Boyd, who profeſſed himſelf equally anxious with the reſt of the company to diſcover the wicked wit that had taken ſo many liberties with his *friends*.

He ſtill continued to be a conſtant attendant in the houſes of parliament. In the gallery of the Houſe of Commons he often ſat near Mr. PITT, the preſent CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, before that Right Hon. gentleman became a member of the houſe. They at laſt got well acquainted; and once, after a long debate on the affairs of Ireland, they retired together to a late dinner, and over their wine jointly committed

committed to paper the ſubſtance of the debate, and tranſmitted it to Ireland. When the bill was called for, Boyd chanced not to have caſh enough about him to pay his ſhare, and Mr. Pitt lent him a few ſhillings to make up the deficiency.

Of theſe favourite amuſements, however, he was now obliged to take leave. The exigencies of his ſituation engroſſed all his attention; and the experience of the inconveniencies he ſuffered from them, determined him to attach himſelf to ſome fixed purſuit, whereby he might be enabled to repair his fortune. With this view he got his intimate friend Mr. Lawrence Sullivan to recommend him to Lord Macartney; and on his Lordſhip's nomination to the government of Madras, he appointed him his ſecond ſecretary.

With this appointment, he left England, (though with much reluctance) embarked for India with Lord Macartney's ſuite, and arrived at Madras in the autumn of the year 1781.

After his arrival at that ſettlement, he devoted his leiſure hours very aſſiduouſly to the

the ſtudy of eaſtern politicks, in which he was not long in attaining conſiderable knowledge.

An opportunity ſoon occurred to call that knowledge into action. A powerful confederacy was at this time formed againſt the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, which aimed at nothing leſs than their total deſtruction, and which the active genius of a HASTINGS, and the dauntleſs heroiſm of a COOTE, perhaps could have alone ſubdued.

Thus ſituated, a plan was propoſed, and ſpeedily adopted, by the government of Madras, of forming an alliance with a people, with whoſe manners and country we were very ſlightly acquainted; but from whom much aſſiſtance might be derived, in reducing the power of a great commercial rival, with whom we were then at war.

The Dutch had long remained in undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the trade of the iſland of Ceylon; but the time was now arrived when they had to encounter in an enemy an intelligent and adventurous rival, and when all that energy was required to be called forth,

forth, which in their better days repelled the arms of Spaniſh tyranny.

After the reduction of Negapatam, and the fall of the other Dutch ſettlements on the Coaſt of Coromandel, an expedition was planned and executed againſt *Trincomallée*, in Ceylon, under the direction of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes.

Mr. Boyd accompanied this expedition, being deputed, by the Governor in Council of Madras, on a ſpecial miſſion to the King of Candy. He embarked on board the Admiral's ſhip, the Superb, and was on ſhore at the ſtorming of *Trincomallée*, a few days ſubſequent to which he ſet out on his embaſſy to Candy.

A particular account of this miſſion will be found in Mr. Boyd's Journal *, which is now

* This Journal was written by Mr. Boyd, during his embaſſy, and the copy of it which is now publiſhed, together with the letters contained in the Appendix to the Embaſſy, were tranſmitted by him to Mrs. Boyd, when he was a priſoner in the iſle of Bourbon, and have by her been carefully preſerved ſince that time. The account I gave of this Embaſſy in a former edition of Mr. Boyd's Life, is in ſome parts inaccurate, owing to my not having, when

now printed for the firſt time, and inſerted in the ſecond volume of theſe works, together with a Preface, that compriſes an hiſtorical account of Ceylon, and that points out the importance of Mr. Boyd's embaſſy, as well as the ability with which it was conducted.

The object of this embaſſy was to conclude a treaty of alliance between the Government of Madras and the King of Candy, by which the latter was to be required, not only to ſupply the Britiſh troops in Ceylon, with the eſſential article of proviſions, but alſo to ſend a powerful army to co-operate with the Engliſh in the reduction of *Columbo*. The King of Candy, after much perſuaſion, agreed to ſupply the Engliſh with provi-

when I wrote that account, any other information concerning it, than what I had collected from ſome caſual converſations with Mr. Boyd on the ſubject. One or two of thoſe inaccuracies it may be neceſſary to point out. It ſtated, that Mr. Boyd had only an eſcort of an havildar and twelve ſepoys, and that he was only twelve days on his journey from *Trincomallée* to *Candy*; whereas it appears from his own account, that he had a whole company of ſepoys, commanded by a Britiſh officer, and that he was exactly one month between *Trincomallée* and *Candy*.

ſions,

ſions, but he poſitively refuſed to take any part in the war againſt the Dutch, or to conclude a treaty of alliance, except with an ambaſſador commiſſioned by the King of England himſelf. It was in vain that Mr. Boyd repreſented to his Highneſs, that the Governor of Madras was the repreſentative of the King of England, in India, that he conſequently had full powers to negotiate with foreign ſtates, and that he had in fact concluded treaties with many other princes in Hinduſtân. The Candian monarch remained inflexible, and Mr. Boyd was at laſt obliged to depart from his court, without having obtained the moſt material purpoſe of his miſſion.

On his return to *Trincomallée*, he hired a ſmall veſſel to carry him to Madras, with all poſſible expedition; the frigate that had been appointed by the Admiral to carry him thither, having put to ſea. This proved an unlucky circumſtance to Mr. Boyd; for the day after his departure from *Trincomallée*, he fell in with the French fleet, commanded by Monſ. de Suffrein, was made priſoner, and ſent on board La Fine frigate. The Captain

of

of this ſhip was a polite companionable man, and ſhewed him great reſpect and kindneſs. Such manners, under misfortune, are peculiarly conciliating.

The morning after his capture, the lively Frenchman told him, with a ſmile, that the Engliſh fleet was in ſight, and that their ſituations might probably be ſoon reverſed. "*Les armes ſont journalieres*," ſaid he, with much vivacity, and giving him his hand, —"*a quelque choſe malheur eſt bon mon ami!*"—but fortune was unkind to his priſoner.

The fleets engaged, and the action, as is well known, laſted till night. La Fine, by ſome miſmanagement, got into the Engliſh line, and fell ſo cloſe on board the Iſis, a fifty gun ſhip, that the Frenoh commander thought it folly to attempt getting off, and hailed that he had ſtruck; upon which ſeveral Engliſh priſoners went on board the Iſis, but Mr. Boyd, being rather indiſpoſed, declined quitting the Frenchman till the morning; in the mean time, however, a freſh breeze ſprung up, and before the Iſis, in her diſabled condition, could take poſſeſſion of

her prize, the frigate took the advantage, and got clear off. Mr. Boyd remonſtrated againſt this proceeding of the French captain's in terms ſo pointed and ſtrong, that he was ordered into cloſe confinement. The next day, the French captain releaſed him, apologized for the manner in which he had treated him, and endeavoured to extenuate the impropriety of his conduct towards the Iſis.

When La Fine arrived at the iſland of *Mauritius*, Mr. Boyd was made a cloſe priſoner, and was kept there ſeveral months. He was afterwards ſent to the iſle of *Bourbon*, (for what reaſon he never could learn) where he lived at the Governor's table, and was treated with the utmoſt kindneſs and liberality.

Captivated with that generoſity and politeneſs for which the people of this iſland are peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, he felt not the inconveniences, much leſs the hardſhips, of impriſonment. Such ſocieties he was born to animate, felicitate, and delight: in them he gave grace to learning, cheerfulneſs to wiſdom, and elegance to wit.

But

But the liberality of the Governor put a period to the pleaſures which he enjoyed in this beautiful iſland: he offered Mr. Boyd his parole, which reſpect for his ſituation obliged him, however reluctantly, to accept.

On his return to Madras, he ſolicited Lord Macartney for an appointment, by which he could advance his fortune; but his Lordſhip having none at his immediate diſpoſal, Mr. Boyd went for a few months to Calcutta, where he lived on terms of intimacy with Sir JOHN MACPHERSON, then Governor of Bengal, and where his talents, wit, and humour, together with the ſuperlative ſprightlineſs of his convivial qualities, will be long remembered with pleaſure.

His ſtay at Calcutta was ſhorter than he intended. Being appointed maſter-attendant at Madras, he was recalled to that preſidency. The duties of this ſituation were ill ſuited to the delicacy of his mind; but as the emoluments appertaining to it were ſo great as to open to him the proſpect of ultimate wealth, he cheerfully overlooked every leſſer conſideration. Nor was this

proſpect ſo diſtant, or the avenue that led to it ſo diſagreeable as may be ſuppoſed; though Prudence, unqueſtionably, was the only guide that could conduct him through it: but, alas! with her he was ever at variance, for he aſſociated too conſtantly with Senſibility, to reliſh much the cold counſels of Prudence; yet is it to be lamented, that Prudence did not find an early entrance into his breaſt, that with her protecting ſhield, ſhe might have covered, from the rude ravages of precarious fortune, the fine poliſh of virtuous ſenſibility.

He now lived in his uſual ſtyle, the ornament of general ſociety, and the life of every company.

During the Myſore war, which terminated in 1792, he conducted a paper, intitled, the *Madras Courier:* it was very juſtly admired for preciſion in detail, and taſte and judgment in ſelection.

In June 1793, he firſt conceived the idea of publiſhing periodical eſſays on morals and literature. At this time I accidentally became acquainted with him. "I was then "only not a boy;" and the manly dignity of

of his countenance, the faſcinating courteſy of his addreſs, the rich eloquence of his language, the variety of his knowledge, and the facility with which he communicated information, at once commanded my reſpect and admiration. We often met, and our converſations chiefly took a literary turn. He liſtened to my opinions, however much they differed from his own, with the kindeſt condeſcenſion, and anſwered them with a frankneſs that beſpoke the generoſity of his mind. A gradual increaſe of mutual fondneſs, ſoon grew into friendſhip;—a friendſhip not to be impaired by place, fortune, or calamity, nor ever effaced from my mind.

" If e'er from me thy loved memorial part,
" May ſhame afflict my alienated heart.

" Oh, if ſometimes thy ſpotleſs form deſcend,
" To me, thy aid, thou guardian Genius, lend!
" When rage miſguides me, or when fear alarms,
" When pain diſtreſſes, or when pleaſure charms,
" In ſilent whiſp'rings purer thoughts impart,
" And turn from ill a frail and feeble heart;
" Lead through the paths, thy virtue trod before,
" Till bliſs ſhall join, nor death can part us more."

I was now his inmate, and ſeldom or ever abſent from his company. His acquaintance

ance formed the whole ſociety of Madras, and to that little circle he gave peculiar grace. Every man of judgment admired, and every man of ſenſibility loved him. If there were thoſe that ſnarled at his irregularities, they were at leaſt ſoothed by his gentleneſs; and if at times they had the boldneſs to bite, they had not often the reſolution to continue the conflict: for churliſh cenſure is always impotent when oppoſed to humour and mildneſs.

His plan for the "*Indian Obſerver*," was made known to the publick ſome time in Auguſt 1793, and ſoon obtained a very liberal encouragement. The novelty of the attempt in that country, excited univerſal curioſity, which it was known the great talents of the Conductor were well qualified to gratify. In the courſe of a month, the ſubſcription amounted to four hundred names.

The work was now to commence; but Mr. Boyd very properly judging it would give greater ſatisfaction by appearing through the channel of a weekly paper, in which the politician and merchant, if they

reliſhed

reliſhed not the literary treat, might reſort to more homely repaſts, propoſed this mode to his friends, by whom it was highly approved.

This paper he intitled the *Hircarrah* *, the firſt number of which appeared on the 9th of September 1793, and which, before the publication of the ſecond, procured nearly one hundred additional ſubſcribers. The *Obſerver* was now in high repute, and the Bœviad race of India, (for there are thoſe ſongſters there as well as in other countries) were all on wing—ſtraining their lungs to heave the cumbrous load!

Scribimus incluſi, numeros ille, hic pede liber,
Grande aliquid quod pulmo animæ prælargus anhelet †.

The *Obſerver* with conſiſtent dignity ſteadily advanced in his purſuit, gratified by the voice of publick approbation, and undiſturbed by thoſe literary reptiles whom the rays of his genius had called forth into a momentary exiſtence.

In February 1794, Mr. Boyd advertiſed propoſals for publiſhing by ſubſcription his

* An Hircarrah ſignifies a meſſenger. † Perſ. Sat. I.

Embaſſy

Embaſſy to Candy, with particulars of that country, and of the iſlands of *Mauritius* and *Bourbon*, in two volumes 8vo. The ſubſcription did not increaſe ſo rapidly as might have been expected. It was certainly a work from which the world would have derived much entertainment and information. The tardineſs of the publick damped the ardour with which he had embraced the project; and he delayed taking up his pen till a ſufficient ſum was ſubſcribed to bear the charges of the preſs. But in September following, urged by ſome friends, he reſolved to begin, and partly on that account cloſed the *Obſerver*, with a poſtſcript, in which there is a conditional promiſe to renew the eſſays at a future period, and to print, in a collective form, thoſe that had appeared.

He now undertook the work with zeal, and confidently hoped to finiſh it within ſix months; but this hope was never realized, he was ſeized with a fever which carried him to his grave.

The thread of this narrative has now brought me to an awful, afflicting, and intereſting ſcene, of which, though I was myſelf

ſelf a melancholy ſpectator, I would much rather decline the deſcription; but reverence for truth, and juſtice to the memory of my departed friend, oblige me to diſcloſe it.

That prodigality of all worldly benefits, and perpetual careleſſneſs of pecuniary conſiderations, which miſguided the early years of Mr. Boyd, attended him to that bed of ſickneſs, on which, whatever were his crimes, or whatever his failings, he was to make a final expiation. Though imprudence muſt be acknowledged to be a great defect, yet that mind can boaſt of little liberality, which magnifies it to a crime: moſt men, nevertheleſs, by judging of characters from appearances in common life, and by being unacquainted with the latent ſprings of human action, are apt indiſcriminately to conſider continued imprudence in the light of fraud.

Mr. Boyd, who had attentively ſtudied the great volume of life, muſt have known the truth of this obſervation; but perhaps he never experienced it until the approach of his diſſolution.

Bleſſed

Bleſſed with a vigorous conſtitution and an even flow of ſpirits, he paſſed through a chequered and buſtling life without having, till now, been confined with any ſerious illneſs. The fever therefore, which, from its beginning, preyed upon his vitals, he felt with an anguiſh, imbittered by reflection on the embarraſſment of his affairs, and exaſperated by the calls of diſappointed creditors. Yet his mind, ſuperior to misfortune, diſdained the language of ſorrow; and his heart, warmed by the recollection of benevolent actions, ſolaced itſelf in the exerciſe of religious duties.

Some days previous to his death, during a paroxyſm of his fever, I was called to take my laſt farewell,—to tear myſelf from that boſom in which my affections had ſo long repoſed! My friend was extended on his bed, his once expreſſive viſage pale and emaciated, his eyes hollow and languid, and his voice feeble and low. He ſtretched out his hand to receive me, and only whiſpered he was ill;—but the big tear that rolled down his ſtill animated countenance, was more intelligible

intelligible than all the figures of language.

This is a ſcene in which friendſhip diſcovers every ſecret goodneſs, and at the ſame time finds palliations for every fault; in which power loſes all its influence, and rivalſhip all its envy; in which diſſipation and folly tremble, and vice and impiety ſtand appalled. "Whoever would know how "much piety and virtue ſurpaſs all external "good, might here have ſeen them weighed "againſt each other; where all that gives "motion to the active, and elevation to the "eminent; all that ſparkles in the eye of "hope, or pants in the boſom of ſuſpicion, "at once became duſt in the balance, with-"out weight and without regard." But it did not fall to my lot to attend him in his laſt hour. His life was prolonged for a few days more, and he expired in the arms of a virtuous and enlightened friend, whom he had always regarded with tenderneſs, and whoſe ablilities he had always admired. With this friend I was ſitting in the ſick room, (the laſt time I ever ſat in it) when ſuddenly raiſing himſelf in his bed, he called

us

us near him, and with a tremulous voice, though with a compoſure and clearneſs, ſeldom attainable in ſuch ſituations, ſpoke the following lines:

In life's gay flow, when all obey
The ſprightly notes of Pleaſure's call;
Can then the faithful mirror ſay,
I ſhew a juſt original?

In ſcenes of pow'r, of pomp, and place,
Where proud Ambition's vot'ries bow;
Can there the mirror's ſhining face,
Of life a true reſemblance ſhew?

No! 'tis not where Ambition's hand
Sweeps o'er the poliſh roughly warm;
Nor where keen Pleaſure's ſighs demand
Her flatt'ring images to form.

'Tis there, where with Reflection's aid,
And purified by Pain,
Man contemplates his fickly bed,—
The mirror then ſhines plain!

He would have proceeded, but his feelings were unable to bear thoſe reflections which he had already conjured up. He burſt into a flood of tears, and reclined again on his pillow.

As

As his fate approached, he told the friend to whom I have above alluded, that ſome *friends* had abandoned him:—yet, though he felt this defection with the keeneſt regret, no expreſſion of reſentment, no emotion of anger, not even a look of unkindneſs, ſullied the purity of his dying ſentiments; but in forgiving his enemies, and in offering up his prayers to the Almighty, for his kindred, his friends, his country, and all mankind, with intire reſignation, and the moſt perfect calmneſs, he breathed his laſt!—Thus ended the life of this great and extraordinary man, at once remarkable for the moſt brilliant talents, and the moſt exalted virtues,—for the misfortunes which obſcured the one, and for the follies which ſurrounded the other.

His death happened on the 19th of October 1794, in the FORTY-EIGHTH year of his age; and he was interred, the day following, in the New Burying Ground at Madras.

Among the number who mourn the loſs of Mr. Boyd, are his widow, a ſon and daughter, who by all accounts ſhew that the genius

genius of their father ſurvives; his brother, Alexander Macaulay, Eſq. who lives on the family eſtate in the county of Antrim, and who is married to a ſiſter of the preſent Lord Viſcount Gosford; and his ſiſter, Mrs. Godley, a lady of great accompliſhments, and many virtues.

The perſon of Mr. Boyd was tall and graceful, formed with the moſt exact ſymmetry; his mien noble and elevated; his countenance animated and commanding, and his deportment exceedingly elegant.

He poſſeſſed great ſtrength and agility of body, and was particularly fond of all athletick exerciſes, in many of which he excelled.

In the hours of mirth and conviviality he was too deſirous of diſplaying his ſuperiority in trifles; and uſed at times to relax his dignity, and ſhew his ſkill at a trick. But in thoſe practices he was guided much by his company; for it was one of his maxims,

" that a man ſhould always endeavour to " adapt his converſation and manners to " the prevailing taſte of his company, pro- " vided the doing ſo did not violate the rules " of morality or decorum."

In ſocial life he poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, thoſe qualities which give confidence to fellowſhip, and zeal to benevolence; which give incitement to charity, and activity to friendſhip. His manners were ſo captivating, that they at once intereſted every affection of the heart. His pleaſantry and humour extorted ſmiles from the inflexible miſanthrope, and infuſed cheerfulneſs into the breaſts of the diſconſolate. The perſuaſive mildneſs of his language conciliated the boiſterous, and ſubdued the rude. But in the practice of theſe virtues he was not unaccompanied by the neighbouring paſſions. Regular men were diſpleaſed with his deviation from order, and prudent men were offended with his total neglect of economy. His boundleſs profuſion was generally condemned, and his munificence often got the name of injuſtice.

Yet

Yet if his generoſity gave that in charity, which juſtice demanded as a right, the undeſerving, at leaſt, never ſhared in the donation: for wiſdom, which ſeemed to have forſaken him in the common affairs of life, directed his mind in its more exalted operations, and always guided him in his charitable diſtributions. Though from diſtreſs, in whatever form it appeared, he never could withhold immediate relief, yet to vice or idleneſs he never deliberately gave encouragement. Under his roof, where every man who wanted a home, found a ready admittance, hoſpitality was by conſequence ſometimes miſapplied; which although his penetration ſoon perceived, his exceſſive delicacy and politeneſs would not allow him to remedy. Let not, therefore, thoſe immenſe ſums of money which he laviſhed away, be intirely placed to the account of his own extravagance; for they were at times augmented by the folly or ſordidneſs of others, and, in a few inſtances, by thoſe vultures of office, who prey on the unſuſpecting candour and generoſity of their maſter's diſpoſition.

In

In his friendly attachments he was leſs frequently miſtaken; for he founded them on the broad baſis of diſintereſted principle. Difference of ſentiment, diſtruſt, and jealouſy, the moſt formidable enemies to friendſhip, found no place in his breaſt: there, all was equable, ſmooth, and gentle.

The warmth of affection which he bore his friends, ſeemed at times to border on prejudice; and he was too apt to hide their blemiſhes, by magnifying their perfections: yet, if his applauſes were ſometimes unqualified, his cenſures were always ſparing. Of him it may be ſaid, in the words of that great ſtateſman and orator, whoſe eloquence and patriotiſm have been ſo long the pride of his country, and the admiration of Europe,—"that his enmities were placable—his friend-"ſhips eternal *."

In private company Mr. Boyd never indulged in perſonal ridicule. Scandal he deſpiſed with becoming dignity: he always endeavoured to ſtifle every petty whiſper of malevolence; and in his converſation he

* "*Amicitiæ ſempiternæ, inimicitiæ placabiles.*"

was ſo particularly cautious and correct, that I do not remember ever to have heard him inſinuate, much leſs openly expreſs, any thing injurious to a private character.

Entering early into life with a mind diſcurſive and powerful, and a judgment penetrating, definite, and clear, he attained a very extenſive and accurate knowledge of mankind; which important advantage, aided by a vivid imagination, embelliſhed with all the graces of learning, gave him a pre-eminence in familiar converſation, that cannot eaſily be equalled, and has been ſeldom ſurpaſſed.

He could accommodate himſelf to every company and to every mind, and poſſeſſed the rare quality of diffuſing pleaſure wherever he appeared. In mixt ſociety, the quickneſs of his apprehenſion allowed nothing to eſcape his notice: his mind was always preſent, and his whole powers ready at every call. He could vary his ſubjects with the utmoſt promptitude, and examine each with equal preciſion;—with the ſerious he could be moral; with the ſtudious he could be learned; with the polite he could be

be elegant; with the gay he could be witty; with the frolickſome he could be humorous; and with the unlettered he could be plain.

At his convivial board his wit ſparkled with every glaſs, and his jocularity flowed as plentifully as his wine; but it was the charms of the one, rather than the excellence of the other, that allured his gueſts, and detained them till a late hour; for even his meals were a feaſt for the underſtanding *.

On theſe occaſions, he, at times, became a keen polemick, and engaged warmly in literary and political diſputes: but his argumentative powers were not commenſurate with his other qualifications. His imagination was greater than his judgment; and his reaſoning, therefore, though dextrous and ſpecious, had little ſolidity or depth. His hearers, however, were always delighted, if not always convinced.

In the warmth of diſputation, he occaſionally ſhewed ſome ſlight degree of arro-

* Ut voluptates quoque ſtudiis condiantur. PLINY.

gance. To maintain a favourite poſition, he would pour forth a torrent of learning, and dare the confutation of his antagoniſt: and in ſcrutinizing publick characters he was, perhaps, too much influenced by his feelings. Yet in the heat of diſcuſſion, he was always agreeable: he never ſoiled his lips with the breath of animoſity, far leſs with the meanneſs of perſonal alluſion. The ſuavity of his manners he preſerved inviolate. In his converſation, there was no violence, no harſhneſs, no aſperity; nothing loud, nor coarſe, nor rude; all was mild, and eaſy, and elegant.

When argument at any time ran high, or tended to produce any ſerious diſcord, he would ingeniouſly change the converſation by a humorous ſally; and if any angry diſputant ſhould not yet be diſpoſed to yield, he would with admirable quickneſs turn his ſyllogiſms into an epigram, and tell him with an irreſiſtible pleaſantry, "Now, my "friend, do indulge us with an armiſtice." In turning thoſe epigrams he was often particularly happy; and although he was too fond of interlarding them with puns, which, like other

other puns, were frequently inſipid, yet they ſeldom failed to excite applauſe, and promote cheerfulneſs.

In female ſociety, he preſerved his merriment with delicacy, and his wit with gracefulneſs, without loſing its point. Of the *Belle Aſſemblée*, he was an ardent admirer, and he joined the ſprightly circle with frequent delight: but the licentiouſneſs of the drawing-room he unreſervedly condemned. That reſtleſs propenſity to game—that *Cacoëthes aleatorium*, which renders morbid every generous principle in youth, and pollutes the hoary honours of age; which diſgraces the faireſt forms, and corrupts the pureſt hearts,—found an enemy in Boyd, who, though goaded by a wild extravagance, had never been driven into its ſnares. He admoniſhed its deluded votaries, not leſs by precept *, than example.

Of his intellectual elements, his imagination was the moſt powerful and active. His

* Whoever wiſhes to know his deteſtation of this vice, will find the ſubject treated in a very maſterly and elegant manner, in the ninth number of the *Indian Obſerver*, Vol. II. page 152, of theſe works.

genius bold, aſpiring, and adventurous, formed conceptions beyond the bounds of ſublunary nature; and his judgment was only not vigorous, when it endeavoured to reſtrain his fancy. His mind in all its operations was aſſiſted by a curioſity perpetually awake, and a comprehenſive capacity of obſervation;—by an intuitive perception, a tenacious memory, and an underſtanding that could aſſociate the remote and the familiar—the beautiful and the grand.

But the diſtinguiſhing qualities of his mind, were memory, clearneſs, and perſpicacity. What he had once heard, or read, he never forgot. He could repeat all the paſſages that he moſt admired, and theſe were of courſe very numerous, in the writings of Demoſthenes and Cicero, of Thucydides and Tacitus, of Bacon, Machiavel, and Monteſquieu. In poetry, his favourite authors were Homer and Milton, and he could repeat ſeveral books of the Iliad, and of Paradiſe Loſt, from the beginning to the end. The ſpeeches that he had heard in parliament, or in the courts of law, he always remembered, not only in ſubſtance, but

but in the very form and phraſe in which they were ſpoken. And even in familiar converſation, whatever intereſted his mind, never again eſcaped it.

The ſtrength of his memory, and the clearneſs of his underſtanding were ſuch, that he could make arithmetical calculations of conſiderable length and intricacy intirely in his mind: without taking down a ſingle unit, he could in a ſhort ſpace of time multiply nine given figures, by other nine, and give the product; and in the ſame manner he could, in the courſe of an hour, reſolve any queſtion in the *Rule of Three*, or in *Vulgar Fractions*. In playing at his favourite game of cheſs, he would walk about the room, and while he was converſing with ſeeming attention on other ſubjects, dictate the moves to another perſon, from being told the ſituation of his adverſary's pieces, and the moves he had made, without once looking at the board himſelf.

Yet, notwithſtanding theſe uncommon inſtances of a piercing and vigorous intellect, notwithſtanding the logical preciſion and arrangement of his thoughts, he poſ-

ſeſſed

ſeſſed not that ſtrong reflecting faculty by which the human mind is enabled to inveſtigate the whole proceſs of its own operations, to follow up the chain of abſtract reaſoning, and to explore the ſources of metaphyſical truths. But his mind had an extenſive graſp. He contemplated the univerſe with the poetick eye of philoſophy, and embraced at once all the various organizations, not only of the moral, but the material world.

His learning, like his genius, was more ſplendid than profound. He feaſted on all the fruits, but had not thoroughly cultivated the ſoil of the literary garden. He had made a general ſurvey of every region of human knowledge; but his particular reſearches were confined to claſſical learning, morals, and politicks.

With the belles lettres, and with the literary and civil hiſtories of every age and nation, he was familiarly acquainted. He read the claſſicks, both of ancient and modern Europe, in their original dreſs. In the Latin and French languages he was eminently ſkilful; and his knowledge of Greek

was

was ſo conſiderable, that one would have imagined he had been all his life a recluſe ſcholar, rather than a man of the world.

Endowed with a taſte, by nature moſt exquiſitely delicate, and refined by the elegancies of the Attick ſchool, he was nice in polite criticiſm, without being faſtidious, and ſevere in philology, without being pedantick.

Of the ſtage he was an enthuſiaſtick admirer, and on dramatick poetry, as well as on dramatick repreſentations, a critick of great acumen, judgment, and taſte. On this ſubject, his opinions were not formed from the poliſhed models of the Grecian, ſtill leſs from the forced correctneſs of the Pariſian ſtage; they were drawn from the originals of nature, as repreſented in the diverſified ſcenery of the immortal genius of Britain.

To talents ſo poliſhed, wit ſo refined, learning ſo amplified, and taſte ſo chaſtened, had Mr. Boyd applied himſelf to the cultivation of dramatick poetry, he would, doubtleſs, have added ornaments to the Engliſh

Engliſh ſtage, which, with its declining elegance and morality, could have alone decayed.

HAVING already ſaid ſo much reſpecting Mr. Boyd's political writings, I ſhould not now offer another word on the ſubject of them, but that I conceive it neceſſary to expoſe the abſurdity, if not the malignity, of Mr. Chalmers's attempt, to calumniate the memory of my friend.

Mr. Chalmers has told the publick, "that Mr. Boyd was an UNITED IRISHMAN, *by birth, by habit, and by practice.*" To have eſtabliſhed the truth of this aſſertion, it was in the firſt place requiſite for him to prove, that a Republican CONSPIRACY *actually exiſted* in IRELAND *at the time of Mr. Boyd's birth*, that is, in October 1746; and in the next place, it was eſſential to ſhew, that Mr. Boyd's political principles, opinions, and connexions, were the ſame as thoſe of an *United Iriſhman.* Now, with regard to a *republican* conſpiracy in Ireland,

in

in the year 1746, I believe it never did exiſt, except in the imagination of Mr. Chalmers; for it is an undeniable fact, that no mention is made by any cotemporary writer, of any ſuch conſpiracy. And as to the idea of tracing the origin of the recent rebellion in Ireland, to ſome petty Catholick plot that may have happened fifty years ago, it is too ridiculous to merit a ſingle obſervation.

With regard to Mr. Boyd's political connexions, the reader already knows, that they were of the firſt reſpectability in the kingdom, not only for their rank and talents, but for their ſteady loyalty to his Majeſty's family, and their conſequent attachment to the genuine principles of the Britiſh conſtitution. Theſe principles are ſteadfaſtly maintained throughout the whole of Mr. Boyd's writings, and though there are a few inſulated expreſſions in *Junius*, which may be thought ſeditious, and which, therefore, I am very far from defending, I do believe that *Junius* was a much ſincerer, and ſurely he was a more able friend to the Crown of England, than *Mr. George Chalmers!!* He who truly loves his KING, muſt

muſt firſt love his COUNTRY. No man can really regard the rights of the one, who does not cheriſh the liberties of the other.

But Mr. Boyd, ſo far from having acted upon the principles of an *United Iriſhman*, was in fact a profeſſed enemy to a republican form of government. Let him ſpeak for himſelf—"I can more readily admire," ſays *Junius*, "the liberal ſpirit and inte-"grity, than the *ſound judgment* of any "man, who prefers a *republican form* of "government, *in this, or in any other empire* "*of equal extent*, to a *monarchy*, ſo *qualified* "*and limited as ours. I am convinced, that* "*neither is it in theory the wiſeſt ſyſtem of* "*government, nor practicable in this country.* "Yet, though I hope that the Engliſh con-"ſtitution will *for ever preſerve its original* "*monarchical form*, I would have the man-"ners of the people purely and ſtrictly re-"publican. I do not mean the *licentious* "*ſpirit of anarchy and riot.* I mean a ge-"neral attachment to the common weal, "diſtinct from any partial attachment to "perſons or families; an *implicit ſubmiſſion* "*to*

" *to the laws only;* and an affection to the " magiſtrate, proportioned to the integrity " and wiſdom with which he diſtributes juſtice " to his people, and adminiſters their af- " fairs."

This I know Mr. Chalmers will not admit to be found conſtitutional doctrine, but this I know was the good old-faſhioned doctrine of our anceſtors, and that to which England owes all her proſperity and glory —all her power and greatneſs. This too was the rational doctrine which Mr. Boyd taught to the people of Ireland, and not, as Mr. Chalmers maliciouſly and unjuſtly inſinuates, thoſe wild and dangerous chimeras by which they have been lately deluded. " RATIONAL, — LEGAL LIBERTY," ſays Mr. Boyd, in the *Freeholder*, " and ONLY " THAT, is intended to be praiſed; which " differs as eſſentially from the rude riot of " licentiouſneſs, as wiſdom is diſtinct from " madneſs, or as reaſon excels brutality. " The admirable Milton has well diſtin- " guiſhed, where he inveighs againſt the " hypocrites of this virtue in the extreme. " As the paſſage well expoſes the falſe pre-

" tenſions

" tenſions to it, and in the ſame proportion
" extols the truth, permit me to cloſe theſe
" obſervations with it."

" They bawl for FREEDOM in their ſenſeleſs mood,
" Yet quarrel with the hand that makes them free.
" *Licence* they mean, when they cry LIBERTY;
" FOR WHO LOVES THAT, MUST FIRST BE WISE AND
" GOOD."

In another place he declares—" I do not
" *beat the drum of faction, nor ſound the*
" *trumpet of ſedition:* for I do moſt *poſitively*
" *and ſolemnly proteſt myſelf* a *zealous friend*
" to the CONSTITUTION as ESTABLISHED
" IN CHURCH AND STATE."

Such is the language in which *Mr. Chalmers's United Iriſhman* addreſſes the people of Ireland, and ſuch the principles which he inculcated: and if the reader ſhould require an expoſition of theſe principles, I recommend to him to peruſe with attention the ſecond letter of the *Freeholder*, in which he will find an abſtract of the Britiſh conſtitution, not adapted, perhaps, to Mr. Chalmers's political taſte, but ſtrictly conformable to the theory of our government.

Reſpect-

Reſpecting the REVOLUTION in FRANCE, Mr. Boyd ſaw, at its very commencement, the falſe and deſtructive principles of thoſe extravagant ſpeculations by which it was effected, and which preſumptuouſly talked of diſorganizing and new modelling the whole frame of civil ſociety: and he thought them altogether ſo inconſiſtent with any ſyſtem of rational and practicable freedom in any country, that an attempt to realize them in France, would madden the deluded people, produce the moſt ferocious anarchy, and inſtead of eſtabliſhing a free government, would erect a military deſpotiſm. He alſo thought, that the French poſſeſſed not that ſteadineſs and ſobriety of character, by which liberty can alone be preſerved. In the year 1791, he received a letter on this important ſubject from his friend Mr. Edmund Burke, together with a copy of his celebrated REFLECTIONS, the peruſal of which, of courſe, confirmed Mr. Boyd's opinions: and of thoſe opinions he has fortunately left a ſufficient record.

In the 21ſt *No. of the Indian Obſerver*, which was publiſhed in January 1794, after making

making ſome obſervations on the powerful effects of eloquence in the free ſtates of antiquity, he ſays,—"From theſe premiſes, "the modern eye naturally turns to that "unhappy country, which for four fatal "years has been the theatre of national ca- "lamity. And he who traces the progreſs "of that calamitous drama, from the firſt "act of depoſition of royalty in the national "ſenate, to the murderous cataſtrophe on "the national ſcaffold, will ſee how the "abuſe of popular eloquence prevailed to "madden the multitude; and if not intend- "ed to effect the final miſchief, as lately has "been ſuggeſted in ſome poſthumous proofs, "yet how fatally powerful it was to light a "flame which could not be extinguiſhed. "The extraordinary talents of Mirabeau, "and their omnipotent effect in the Aſſem- "bly of France, are too well known. And "though it may be ſome conſolation to "thoſe, whoſe love of human nature revolts "from the unnatural aſſociation of the "blackeſt vices with the brighteſt abilities, "to find that his were not the principles

"which

" which have been ſince acted upon to the " horror of mankind.

" But to turn to the more pleaſing view " of the ſubject, where the fineſt talents " combat on the ſide of truth, we have ſeen " their triumph in the nobleſt cauſe, in the " CAUSE OF RELIGION, LAW, AND OR- " DER; in defence of every ſacred poſt and " barrier, ESSENTIAL, not alone to the SE- " CURITY and HAPPINESS OF MANKIND, " but to the very EXISTENCE OF SOCIETY. " The ſublime comprehenſion of that pene- " trating genius *, who in the early dawn " of democracy, ſaw the deſtructive princi- " ple of general conflagration that was to " flame in its meridian, gave the alarm to " the world; and his warning voice was " heard. The baleful influence, threatening " every confine of humanity, was averted; " and the portentous meteor, conſumed in " its own fires, will paſs away for ever."

Thus then it appears that the aſſertion of Mr. Chalmers is at once groundleſs and abſurd; and he has, therefore, thought

* Mr. Burke.

it becoming his character to propagate an idle calumny, to endeavour to revile the memory of one who never injured him, to violate the ſanctity of the tomb, and to rake up the aſhes of the dead, to gratify his reſentment againſt the living. What morality is this? Is this the man who cenſures the morals of *Junius?* Is this the man who complains ſo bitterly of the malevolence of Mr. MATHIAS? Is this the man who is conſtantly profeſſing his regard for candour and truth? Is this the man who takes Doctor Johnſon for his model? Or is it *only the ſtyle* * of that great man, which he thinks worthy of imitation?

But with his taſte in morals, or in literature, I have no other concern, than as it regards my friend. Dulneſs may be deſpiſed, though malignity cannot be excuſed; but when we find them united, diſguſt and indignation ruſh irreſiſtibly on the mind. If, however, I had not judged of his calumny

* See Chalmers's Life of Rudiman, a work, which, to any man well acquainted with Johnſon's ſtyle, will afford as much amuſement as one of Foote's beſt farces.

by the rancour which gave it birth, rather than by the manner in which it is expreſſed, I ſhould have allowed it to die forgotten and unremoved, along with the learned lumber of his *Supplemental Apology*.

The other productions of Mr. Boyd, which I have preſented to the publick, require little apology or explanation; they are written with leſs ardour of ſtyle and ſentiment, than his political compoſitions, but they are nevertheleſs highly worthy of preſervation, and no way derogatory from his genius.

The Journal of his Embaſſy to Candy will be found extremely entertaining. It is written with that unaffected *naïveté* of language, which is the greateſt beauty of ſuch a performance; and there is an agreeable and unclouded cheerfulneſs throughout the whole of it, which appears extraordinary amidſt the difficulties and fatigue of a toilſome and vexatious journey; and which illuſtrates the peculiarity of his genuine humour, as well as of the mild but intrepid

reſolution, that dignified and diſtinguiſhed his character.

The few Poems which appear at the end of the firſt volume, were the amuſements of an idle hour; and I publiſh them merely to ſhew the never-failing playfulneſs of his diſpoſition, as well as the cordial tenderneſs of his heart. If they diſplay not any thing of that brilliancy and animation which might have been expected from him, they at leaſt contain very elegant and pleaſing lines.

In his Eſſays in the *Indian Obſerver*, if there be not any novelty of ſubject, or nice diſtinctions in morals and criticiſm, they at leaſt repreſent the pure and immutable principles of private ethics in a lively and pleaſing manner, and enforce the efficacy of virtue and religion with the ſimple energy of truth. And when the reader is informed that theſe Eſſays were generally compoſed amidſt the buſtle of buſineſs, or the frolicks of hilarity, without either care or preparation, he will be indulgent to the blemiſhes which he may find they contain.

It

It has indeed been objected to the *Indian Observer*, that he is not sufficiently Asiatick; that his observations do not embrace so wide a sphere of life as might have been expected; for that he should have delineated the character of the native inhabitants of India. But it should be recollected that this was foreign to Mr. Boyd's purpose; which was to instruct and amuse the English society at Madras, on those subjects to which he conceived they paid too little attention. His grand object was to animate the provinces with the spirit of the mother-country; by the inculcation of moral truths, by rousing the passions on the side of virtue, by infusing a desire for the pursuits of polite literature, and a taste for the curiosities of art. He lamented, that in India so great a portion of time was devoted to the avocation of office, and laudably endeavoured to inspire his countrymen with more elevated sentiments. He told them in the words of Moliere,

A de plus hauts objets élevez vos désirs,
Songez à prendre un goût des plus nobles plaisirs.

That he has executed his design with dignity, will not, I believe, be denied; though from

from negligence on ſome ſubjects, he is lax and undefined. On morals, as on literature, his ſentiments are liberal, his taſte is pure, his judgment exact, and his diction always perſpicuous, eaſy, and elegant.

Throughout the whole of his writings he may, with a few exceptions, be ſaid to have preſerved the medium ſo elegantly deſcribed by the Abbé MAURY, "that keeps between the extreme of neglecting application, which adds to the defects of taſte, and the exceſs of labour, which deadens the tranſports of genius." And in the letters of *Junius*, as well as in his other political productions, he has attained that nervous ſimplicity of language, which is at once familiar without being common, eaſy without being feeble, conciſe without being forced, energetick without conſtraint, rapid without irregularity, ſpirited without vehemence, and ſevere without harſhneſs.

Verba togæ ſequeris, junctură callidus acri,
Ore teres modico, pallentes radere mores
*Doctus & ingenuo culpam defigere ludo**.

* Perſ. Sat. V.

SUCH

SUCH is the Life and Character of HUGH BOYD, delineated, I hope, with the integrity of truth, though it may be, I have at times imperceptibly leaned to the ſide of friendſhip. If for this I ſhould be condemned by the auſterity of Juſtice, I have yet an appeal to Benevolence, from whom I ſhall expect a milder ſentence. But let not even Juſtice too raſhly frown, for mature reflection may ſoften her decree.

In eſtimating the qualities of Boyd, much candour and conſideration is required. It is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh his foibles from thoſe of others. Moſt men only ſhew to the world their fair ſides, concealing, under a dazzling varniſh, innumerable faults; whereas his frailties, however great, appeared open as day, whilſt ſome of the nobleſt virtues, like diamonds in the mine, were impervious to the ſight of the ſuperficial obſerver. If there are thoſe who ſhould tax the juſtneſs of this obſervation, and who to his imperfections ſhould give a harſher name, let them reflect on the frailties incident to nature, and the mutability of their own condition; let them learn,

learn, in the ſublime language of Shakeſpeare, the duty of fellowſhip, and the amiableneſs of candour.

> ——— How would you be,
> If he who is the top of judgment ſhould
> But judge you as you are? Oh! think on that,
> And mercy will then breathe within your lips,
> Like man new made.

If in tracing the wanderings of a friend's life, I have been led into greater length than I foreſaw, I requeſt my readers to examine their own hearts, and if there they find no apology for that fondneſs which deludes reaſon, and "bathes the ſpirits in delight," in contemplating the genius and virtues of a departed friend, even the eloquent ſenſibility of a Jaffier may plead in vain. The firſt duty of a Biographer is to lay open the lights and ſhades of his hero's character, and by the ſtrong effect of finiſhed colouring, to encourage the modeſty of virtuous indigence, and repreſs the inſolence of proſperous vice. How well I have performed this duty, it remains for the publick to determine. I ſhall wait their deciſion with anxiety,

anxiety, but not without confidence: for having contributed my mite to the cauſe of Friendſhip, Virtue, and Truth, I ſhall at leaſt be intitled to the praiſe of having endeavoured well.

APPENDIX

TO

THE LIFE.

A Letter from Mr. J. ALMON, *to* L. D. CAMPBELL, Esq. *containing some strong circumstantial Proofs of* Mr. BOYD *having been the real Author of* JUNIUS.

Box-Moor, near Hemel-Hempstead, Herts,
December 10, 1798.

SIR,

MY reasons for believing that the letters signed *Junius*, were written by the late Mr. Hugh Boyd, are founded upon the following circumstances.

During the autumn of the year 1769, I believe in the month of October, a meeting of the Proprietors of the *London Evening Post* was held at the Queen's-Arms, St. Paul's Church-yard, a house which at that time was much frequented by booksellers. The persons present were,

John

John Gretton, Esq.* Mr. Rivington, bookseller, in St. Paul's Church-yard; Mr. Longman, bookseller, in Paternoster-row; Mr. Owen, bookseller, at Temple-bar; Mr. Miller, Printer of the *London Evening Post;* Mr. Woodfall, Printer of the *Publick Advertiser*, (in which the letters of *Junius* were originally published) myself, and I think one more. After the business was over, there was a general conversation concerning newspapers, and other topicks, in the course of which something was remarked, which caught Mr. Woodfall's attention, for he immediately said, that he had a letter from *Junius* in his pocket, which he had just received, in which there was a passage, or paragraph, that related to the subject we were then talking of, and he would read it; then taking the letter out of his pocket, he read the part he had spoken of. The letter consisted of three or four sheets (or more) in small folio, such as we technically call fool's cap. As the other sheets, which Mr. Woodfall was not reading from, lay upon the table, I saw them in common with the rest of the company, but did not take them into my hands. The moment I saw the hand-writing, I had a *strong suspicion* that it was Mr. Boyd's, *whose hand-writing I knew*, having *received several letters* from him concerning books. I took no notice of the matter at that time. But the next time that Mr. Boyd called on me, for he was in the habit of frequently calling on me in Piccadilly, I said to him, that I had seen a part of one of *Junius*'s letters, in manuscript, which I believed was his hand-writing—he changed colour instantly, and after a short pause, said, "*the similitude of* "*hand-writing is not a conclusive fact.*"—Though these words do not acknowledge the truth of the suspicion, they

* Now of Belmont-Place, Vauxhall.

do

do not, however, positively deny it. These were my first grounds of suspicion; whether justly or not, this letter is designed to explain.

About a month, or six weeks afterwards, Lord Temple asked me, if I knew the writer of the letters signed *Junius?* I told his Lordship that I did not, but that I had my suspicions. His Lordship said, he had his suspicions also; but they did not go to Mr. Burke, yet he had no doubt of the writer being an Irishman.

Upon this seemingly indifferent circumstance, I cannot avoid making two remarks: one is—that every reader of *Junius*'s letters must have observed, that the affairs of Ireland form a very prominent feature in them. The other is—that though all parties were at this time abusing Lord Temple—Lord Rockingham's friends, because he had refused to accept of the administration, when that noble Lord implored him almost upon his knees—the ministry, because he opposed their measures—the court, from pure hatred, because he would not be duped by Lord Bute's machinations: and though these parties hated each other, yet they united in the abuse of Lord Temple. *Junius* joins not with any of these parties, respecting Lord Temple. On the contrary, whenever he speaks of that noble Lord, it is of his firmness, perseverance, patriotism, and virtue; and I can add, from my own knowledge, that whenever Mr. Boyd spoke of Lord Temple, it was always in similar terms. *Junius* says of himself, "to write for "fame, and to be unknown—to support the intrigues of "faction, and to be disowned by every party in the king-"dom, are contradictions which the minister must recon-"cile, before I forfeit my credit with the publick."

On the nineteenth of December 1769, was published *Junius*'s address to the King, for which several of the print-

ers

ers were profecuted, together with myſelf, who had no concern whatever in the printing of it. The caſe was ſhortly this: on the firſt day of January 1770, ſome of the monthly magazines, into which this letter of *Junius* was copied, were ſold by my ſervants; for which act of ſelling, in the common courſe of buſineſs, the attorney-general (Mr. De Grey, afterwards Lord Walſingham) filed an information, *ex officio*, againſt me, as a publiſher; although the true publiſher's name was on the title-page of the magazine, and I had no kind of connexion with it, immediately or remotely, directly or indirectly, and he might, with the ſame juſtice, have proſecuted all the bookſellers in England, for all of them ſell the monthly magazines.

At the time of ſtriking the ſpecial jury, which I attended, I objected to thoſe gentlemen being on the jury who held places under the crown. Mr. Burrows, at that time maſter of the crown office, where the jury was ſtruck, ſaid that my objection was frivolous. I replied, that this being a proſecution in which the crown was party, I could not think it proper that a ſervant of either party ſhould be on the jury. He made no anſwer, but went on; and notwithſtanding my utmoſt endeavours, I could not prevent a placeman being foreman of the jury, viz. Mr. Morſe of the war-office. When the buſineſs was over, Mr. Nuthall's clerk (Nuthall was ſolicitor to the treaſury) came up to me, and ſaid, "We are certain you know the author, we "only want to come at him; if you will give us the pro-"per information, I am authorized by Mr. Nuthall to "aſſure you, that this proſecution ſhall not go on." My anſwer was, that I did not know the author. The proſecution was made as expenſive as poſſible. The information was extended to one hundred and thirty-ſeven ſheets. My own attorney's bill exceeded one hundred and forty-nine pounds.

pounds. This was distinct from the other heavy expences. The late Sir Herbert Mackworth, who was one of the jury, made a strong affidavit in my favour, as did some other gentlemen: but all was of no avail. A few weeks afterwards, the trials of the *real* printers and publishers came on, when they were all acquitted. Several months after these acquittals, I was sentenced to pay a fine, and put under an interdiction, or security for good behaviour, in the sum of eight hundred pounds. The hardship of this is, that nobody can ascertain what is the precise meaning of this expression, "for good behaviour" —a breach of it may be any thing the attorney-general pleases to call so. I can say with truth, that there is no man, now alive, who has been so vindictively prosecuted and persecuted, during a long series of years, as I have been, nor so unjustly.

During the whole time that this prosecution was going on, Mr. Boyd never once called upon me; which I could not help observing, because before this time, he commonly called twice or thrice a week; and I thought it not less remarkable, that after the prosecution was totally at an end, he resumed his former custom.

In the month of January 1772, the last letter signed *Junius* was published. A short time after, Mr. Boyd left London; I cannot say the exact date, nor to what place he went. But, in your Preface to the *Indian Observer*, in the last paragraph but one, you say, that the *Freeholder*, known to be written by Mr. Boyd, was published in Ireland, (at Belfast) in 1772 *. I have already observed, that the affairs of Ireland make a prominent feature in *Junius*'s letters. If the date, therefore, of the *last* of *Junius*

* This was a mistake. Mr. Boyd went to Ireland in 1772, but did not publish the *Freeholder* till 1776. Ed.

in

in England, and the date of the *firſt* paper of the *Freeholder* in Ireland, do not ſhew a ſtrong improbability of their coming from the ſame inkſtand, there will not ſeem any violent impropriety in connecting them; as coming from the ſame writer. The eulogium on *Junius* in the *Freeholder*, may be judicious—to give immediate currency to his new paper. Some modeſt people may perhaps imagine, that a capital writer would not praiſe himſelf. *Junius* was not ſo delicate: witneſs the letters ſigned *Philo-Junius*, avowedly written by himſelf; what are they but eulogiums on *Junius?* and under his own ſignature, did he not once ſay, that the BIBLE and *Junius* would be read, when the Jeſuits were forgotten? *Junius* knew the utility of a ſeaſonable eulogium, as well as any man. All men are not alike in apprehenſion and diſcernment; it is often neceſſary that ſome things ſhould be pointed out; what is latent, or not prominent, ſhould be made obvious; and this is beſt done by collateral aſſiſtance. Periodical writers have been allowed the uſe of this kind of ſupplementary aid, to ſupport their credit with the publick. Lord Cheſterfield practiſed it, when he wrote in the paper called *Common Senſe*: and Mr. Wilkes practiſed it, when he wrote *North Briton*.

I know there are ſome perſons, who are not diſpoſed to give credit to the account of Mr. Boyd being the author of the letters ſigned *Junius;* and they found their doubts upon their own opinion of his talents, which they ſay were not equal to the abilities diſplayed in thoſe letters. Every candid perſon will obſerve, that this objection reſts upon opinion only; and it may further be obſerved, that men, and ſometimes great men, differ widely in their opinions upon the talents of writers. Far be it from me to offer an opinion upon the ſubject; but I hope I may, without incurring

curring the guilt of presumption, be allowed to recommend a comparison between the letters of *Junius* and the papers avowedly written by Mr. Boyd. Whoever will be at the trouble of reading the Introduction to two Speeches of Lord Chatham, written and taken by Mr. Boyd, will probably say, that there is not any part of *Junius*'s letters, which excels the language of that introduction, in beauty and sublimity. Of the *Whig*, also written by Mr. Boyd, I have heard very good judges say, that there are passages in those papers, equal in force and elegance to any thing in the writings of *Junius*.

Another objection has been made to the supposition of Mr. Boyd being the author of *Junius*'s letters. It is of a kind less rude than the former, but more frivolous. The former was to his talents, this was to his situation. Those who urged the objection, said—That the letters of *Junius* must have been written by a person of profound erudition, of high political connexions, and in habits of familiarity amongst the highest ranks of society.

To Mr. Boyd's classical education, no man who knew him, will hesitate to give the fullest credit to the great extent of it. The rest of the objection, if translated into plain English, is no more than this; that the writer of *Junius*'s letters must have been a gentleman, or nobleman of high birth and fashion. This is so childish, that one need only be acquainted with the manners of the present day, to pronounce it silly in the extreme. Do gentlemen, or noblemen, in these times, sit down to the laborious exercise of writing a long series of political letters for the newspapers? The letters of *Junius* continued three years, viz. from January 21, 1769, to January 21, 1772. Mr. Wilkes found it a heavy task to produce only forty-five numbers of the *North Briton:* and every one who knew

him, muſt remember how often he complained of the weight of it; though ſix of the numbers were not written by him. The writer of *Junius*'s letters muſt, unqueſtionably, during the time of their publication, have reſided in London, in the vortex of politicks, at the fountain of information. This is an indiſputable fact; it is proved by the immediate replies given to other writers. Beſides theſe, there were, I may almoſt ſay, an infinite number of other letters, to which he did not affix the ſignature of *Junius;* ſome few on miſcellaneous ſubjects, but they were chiefly political, and in ſupport of *Junius;* together with many paragraphs, ſeveral of them particularly temporary. How I know the fact is not material. Mr. Woodfall will not, upon his honour, contradict me. All that I mean to infer from it, is, that during the publication of *Junius*'s letters, the writer muſt have reſided on the ſpot; and that no gentleman of rank and faſhion, would live three ſucceſſive complete years in London, for the ſake of writing political letters, and anſwering anonymous antagoniſts.

As to the other part of the objection, that *Junius* muſt be a nobleman, or perſon of high conſideration, it is anſwered by the next queſtion, Can no man write like a gentleman, unleſs he is of high birth, or great fortune?

But there is another objection of more conſequence than any of the foregoing. It conſiſts, it it true, of only a ſingle aſſertion, but this aſſertion is made by Mr. Woodfall himſelf; and that gives it weight and importance in this inveſtigation. He ſays, "that the letters ſigned *Ju-*" *nius* were not written by Mr. Boyd."

A few weeks after the *Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes* were publiſhed, Mr. Woodfall and I met, by accident. He immediately complimented me on the publication, ſaid, "it was a very entertaining work, he had

"read

" read it with great pleaſure, &c. but there was one thing " in which I was miſtaken, and that was, in ſuppoſing " Mr. Boyd to have been the author of *Junius*'s letters;" and then he added, with an emphaſis, " that Mr. Boyd " was not the author of them." Theſe I think were his words. My reply was, I think in theſe words, " That I " had no doubt of Mr. Boyd being the author of thoſe " letters; that he (Mr. Woodfall) never knew the au- " thor; and that as he never knew who *was*, he could " not undertake to aſſert who was *not*—the author."

I ſhall make no comment on this little colloquy. I have put Mr. Woodfall's words in the full extent of their meaning, and my own I have put in the oppoſite ſcale.

I reſpect Mr. Woodfall's character as much as any man can; at the ſame time I cannot depart from a conſideration of my own. I am not conſcious, that throughout the three volumes of the *Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes*, there is one untruth. To the beſt of my knowledge and belief, every expreſſion and aſſertion, in that work, are founded in the ſtricteſt veracity. My only motive in writing theſe volumes was, that as moſt of the facts they contain, though very generally known at the time they happened, had not, to my knowledge, been by any perſon committed to paper, they would probably periſh with the few now alive, who are acquainted with them; and I hope that the taſk I thus impoſed on myſelf, will not be deemed frivolous or invidious. There are many matters left untold, which do not relate ſo nearly to the biography, as to the hiſtory of our times. They will form a work of more conſiderable extent. I have devoted my leiſure to it for ſome years paſt; and it has been, and ſhall be, my moſt anxious deſire and care, that no falſehood ſhall appear in it.

There is one more circumſtance, concerning *Junius's* letters, that is proper to mention. It is of equal importance with any one that has been already adduced. It is this. On the fifteenth day of April 1786, there appeared the following paragraph in the *General Adverti ſer*.

" When Lord Macartney went to Madras, it is well " known that *Junius* went with his Lordſhip. He made " himſelf uſeful to his Lordſhip, by taking ſome ſpeeches " at the India-Houſe. No man ever had a better memo- " ry, or a better knack at taking ſpeeches than *Junius*. " He was happy in an accurate retention of all ſtrong ex- " preſſions. He went to India, becauſe his circumſtances " were very circumſcribed. Being a Whig in principle, " it was not probable that he would differ with General " Dalling, who was bred under the old Duke of Cumber- " land: but it is very probable that he will not agree with " Sir A. Campbell. He is a native of Ireland, and re- " ceived his education in the college of Dublin."

Who can infer from this paragraph that Mr. Boyd was the author of *Junius's* letters? None but thoſe who knew the fact. Mr. Boyd was not the only gentleman who went with Lord Macartney to India; ſeveral other gentlemen went with his Lordſhip, whoſe circumſtances, perhaps, might not materially differ, and who might have attended the debates at the India-Houſe, as well as Mr. Boyd. The paragraph is not concluſive upon Mr. Boyd; and none but a perſon, who knew the connexion between *Junius* and Mr. Boyd, would perceive the alluſion. If Mr. Boyd depoſited the ſecret with any body, who was the moſt probable?—undoubtedly Mrs. Boyd*.

* It has been already ſtated, that Mrs. Boyd was not intruſted with the ſecret; but her anxiety on this occaſion aroſe from a *belief* that Mr. Boyd was JUNIUS. Ed.

At

At the time that this paragraph was publiſhed, Mrs. Boyd reſided at Hampſtead. The moment ſhe ſaw the paragraph, which was the morning of publication, ſhe immediately ſent a gentleman to the printer, to requeſt that no more paragraphs, alluding to Mr. Boyd, might appear in the paper; becauſe ſhe feared, that ſuch information might eſſentially injure Mr. Boyd's intereſt in India. Her requeſt was obeyed. Nothing more on the ſubject was publiſhed. A common obſerver, would read the paragraph with indifference; and many of thoſe who knew Mr. Boyd, would ſcarcely find their attention attached by it. But Mrs. Boyd is alive to the alluſion the moment ſhe ſees it. She underſtands it in all its force, and inſtantly wiſhes to deprecate its effect. Had the alluſion been totally falſe, perhaps Mrs. Boyd might not have been ſo quickly alarmed. *Junius*'s letters had often been aſcribed to many perſons, without any of them feeling hurt by the report—becauſe it was falſe. Mr. Boyd was not at that time ſuſpected, I believe, by any body, except myſelf.

I have now vindicated, I hope ſufficiently, the account given in the *Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes*, of the writer of *Junius*'s letters.

My ſincere opinion is, that thoſe letters were written by the late Mr. Hugh Boyd; and I ſhall continue to be of that opinion, until I am undeceived by ſome better authority than any I have yet ſeen.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient ſervant,

J. ALMON.

A CONCISE ACCOUNT *of a short* CONTROVERSY, *which was carried on through the Medium of the* MORNING CHRONICLE, *in the Month of August* 1799, *relative to the Question*, —*Whether* Mr. HUGH BOYD *was in Reality the* AUTHOR OF JUNIUS?

THIS CONTROVERSY having attracted the notice of the publick, I think it no less due to those concerned in it, than to the memory of Mr. Boyd, to explain the cause from which it arose, as well as the motive which induced me to engage in it, and likewise to give an impartial statement of the leading points on both sides of the question.

In the beginning of July 1799, Mr. George Chalmers published a book, entitled, *A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare MSS.* together with a *Postscript*, addressed to Mr. T. J. Mathias. In this *Postscript* he takes occasion to give some account of Mr. Boyd, to declare it to be his firm belief, that Mr. Boyd was the author of *Junius*, and to assert, that "*he was an United Irishman*, "*by birth, by habit, and by practice.*" The last part of this statement of Mr. Chalmers, namely, that Mr. Boyd was an *United Irishman*, being totally void of all foundation in truth, and being a silly, but malicious attempt to defame his character, I felt myself called upon to expose the fallacy of the assertion, and to shield the memory of my friend from the poisoned arrows of his slander. I therefore addressed a letter to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, to that effect; and at the same time stated a few leading facts in proof of Mr. Boyd having written the letters of *Junius*, in order to prevent the publick from being misled on that point, by some plausible, but erroneous circumstances respecting it, which had appeared in the *True Briton*.

The

The following is the ſubſtance of the principal facts which I ſtated in that letter, with regard to Mr. Boyd having written the letters of *Junius*, viz.

"That Mr. Boyd, from his abilities and political connexions, was fully qualified for the taſk of writing ſuch letters."

"That previous to the appearance of *Junius*'s letters, Mr. Boyd had accuſtomed himſelf to write in a diſguiſed hand."

"That during the whole of the three ſucceſſive years that *Junius* wrote in the *Publick Advertiſer*, Mr. Boyd conſtantly ſent letters to that paper, which he wrote with the moſt impenetrable ſecrecy, which he ſuperſcribed in his feigned hand-writing, and which he chiefly employed Mrs. Boyd to carry to Mr. H. S. Woodfall's letter-box, with the moſt ſcrupulous caution."

"That there was POSITIVE EVIDENCE, in contradiction to what was ſtated in the *True Briton* *, that Mr. H. S. Woodfall never knew that Mr. Boyd had written for the *Publick Advertiſer*, before the year 1777, until he was requeſted by Mr. Boyd's friends to point out thoſe letters, which *they knew* Mr. Boyd had written for that paper, in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772."

"And laſtly, that the writer in the *True Briton*, when he ſaid, "That Mr. Boyd's contributions to the *Publick Ad-*" *vertiſer*, in the time of *Junius*, are not to be held in com-" pariſon with the productions of that admirable writer," cenſured writings which he had never read, and which I defied him or any other man to produce. I gave this defiance with a confidence founded on the FACT, that no let-

* It was ſtated in the *True Briton*, "That Mr. Boyd was *known* " *to have written* for the *Publick Advertiſer* during the time of *Junius*."

ters

ters of Mr. Boyd's were publiſhed in the *Publick Advertiſer*, during the three years above mentioned, except thoſe which are ſo well known under the ſignatures of *Junius* and *Philo-Junius*, thoſe that appeared under the ſignatures of *Lucius* and *Brutus*, and thoſe that he ſent to Mr. H. S. Woodfall in Mrs. Boyd's hand-writing.

Theſe facts had no ſooner been publiſhed, than *Mr. William Woodfall* ſtepped forward to deny their validity, and to juſtify the aſſertion above quoted of the writer in the *True Briton*. In his letter, which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 12th of Auguſt 1799, which profeſſes to be an anſwer to my *facts*, he aſſerts,—"That *no* "*man living knows more* of the conduct of *Junius*, in the "management of his correſpondence in *all its relations*, "than he does, his brother alone excepted."

"That *he knows* the whole of the aſſertion, that *Mr. Boyd* "*was the author of the letters ſigned Junius*, to be founded in "miſapprehenſion."

"That Mr. Boyd was not capable of compoſing ſuch "letters; becauſe his Eſſays, in the *Indian Obſerver*, are "greatly inferior to them in point of ſtyle and ſenti-"ment."

"That he (Mr. William Woodfall) can ſafely aſſert, "that his brother Mr. H. S. Woodfall, ſhewed him every "one of *Junius*'s letters in manuſcript, previous to publi-"cation, and that not one of them *bore the appearance* of "having been written in a diſguiſed hand*."

"That

* What Mr. W. Woodfall obſerves here, is perfectly true. The MSS. of *Junius did not* bear the appearance of a diſguiſed hand-writing, to perſons like Mr. W. Woodfall, who had not ſeen Mr. Boyd's common hand-writing. But I have already proved, that thoſe who were well acquainted with the *one*, would upon an in-

ſpection

" That Mr. Boyd might poſſibly have diſguiſed his hand-
" writing, ſufficiently to eſcape the detection of common
" obſervers, but that he could not eaſily deceive the acute
" diſcernment of a newſpaper printer's eye."

" That even ſuppoſing Mr. Boyd *could diſguiſe* his hand-
" writing, it muſt be admitted on all hands, he *could not diſ-*
" *guiſe* his ſtyle, and *leaſt of all in that moſt extraordinary*
" *way of writing above his own reach of literary talent.*"

" That the writer in the *True Briton* was, therefore,
" amply juſtified in ſaying, *that Mr. Boyd's contributions to*
" *the Publick Advertiſer, in the time of Junius, were not to be*
" *held in compariſon with the productions of that admirable*
" *writer.*"

" That his brother, Mr. H. S. Woodfall—*never aſked*
" *for any indemnity for publiſhing the letters of Junius, nor was*
" *any offered him.*"

" And that for all theſe reaſons, I had committed a *groſs*
" *error* in lending a willing ear to Mr. Almon's aſſertion,
" *that Mr. Boyd was the author of Junius;* an aſſertion which
" he (Mr. William Woodfall) *for all theſe reaſons*, declares
" *to be founded in ignorance, and broached in preſumption.*"

Such is Mr. W. Woodfall's anſwer to *my facts* reſpect-
ing Mr. Boyd, the different parts of which, for the ſake of
order and conciſeneſs, I have been obliged to tranſpoſe and
condenſe: but the author will find, that although his per-

ſpection of the *other*, diſcover a ſtrong reſemblance between them. And Mr. W. Woodfall muſt be ſenſible, that as there was no *ſtriking peculiarity* in the MSS. of *Junius*, he could not poſſibly know, whether it was a feigned hand or not; for, in order to aſcertain whether a hand-writing of that kind be diſguiſed, it is neceſſary to be familiarly acquainted with the ſame writer's hand in his private letters, or in the common concerns of life.

formance

formance has been ſtripped of its *rhetorical flouriſhes*, it has loſt nothing either of its *beauty* or *ſtrength*.

To this letter of Mr. William Woodfall's, I thought it neceſſary to reply; becauſe the unqualified aſſertions reſpecting *Junius*, under the ſignature of *Woodfall*, if uncontradicted, might have carried ſome weight with them, although they were unſupported by a ſingle *fact*, or any thing like argument or juſt obſervation.

I went over the ſame ground that I had taken in my firſt letter; becauſe I only wiſhed to *ſubſtantiate* the few facts I had ſtated, not at *that time* to *prove*, that Mr. Boyd was in reality the author of *Junius*.

I obſerved, "that as to Mr. W. Woodfall's aſſertion, *that* "*the manuſcript of Junius did not appear to him to be a diſ-* "*guiſed hand*, I could only ſay, it was no way ſurpriſing "Mr. Boyd ſhould have eluded the detection of a news- "paper printer's eye, when even the perſpicacity and "acuteneſs of Mr. W. Woodfall had been ſo egregiouſly "deceived by the hand-writing of *Junius*. For that to "ſay nothing of *the fact* itſelf, that all the letters ſent to "the *Publick Advertiſer*, under the ſignatures of *Junius* and "*Philo-Junius*, of *Lucius* and *Brutus*, were actually written "in a diſguiſed hand, it muſt be evident to every man of "common obſervation, that *Junius* would have forfeited "all claim to ſagacity, and would infallibly have been diſ- "covered, if he had written his letters in his common "hand-writing."

"That with regard to his aſſertion, *that Mr. Boyd could* "*not diſguiſe his ſtyle*, he (Mr. W. Woodfall) muſt be ig- "norant indeed of literary hiſtory, if he did not know an "hundred inſtances, of men of leſs talents than he allowed "to Mr. Boyd, having deceived the publick by diſguiſing "their ſtyle."

"That

"That his assertion, *that Mr. Boyd was in the habit of* "*corresponding with the Publick Advertiser in the time of Ju-*" *nius, but not as a studiously concealed writer*, was utterly un-" founded in truth, for that Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall " had told me, in the presence of a gentleman whom I had " purposely brought along with me to his house, that he " knew not of any contributions of Mr. Boyd's to the " *Publick Advertiser*, in the time of *Junius;* that he had no " recollection whatever of any letters of Mr. Boyd's at " that time. And I reminded Mr. W. Woodfall, that " his brother Mr. H. S. Woodfall had expressly told me " in his own (Mr. W. Woodfall's) presence—*that he did* " *not recollect that Mr. Boyd had ever written for the Publick* " *Advertiser before the year* 1777, *when he had sent him some* " *letters on the affairs of India;* and that although he could " not *give in to the idea of his having written Junius, that he* " *notwithstanding thought him a very able writer.*"

"That it clearly appeared, therefore, Mr. H. S. Wood-" fall could give no account whatever of upwards of one " hundred and fifty letters, which Mr. Boyd had actually " sent to the *Publick Advertiser*, in the time of *Junius;*— " and that as a man of his talents, sentiments, and habits, " could not be supposed to have *laboured gratuitously* for a " newspaper for *three successive* years, unless his writings " had received the continued encouragement and applause " of the publick, the fair presumption was, that the letters " which Mr. Boyd sent to the *Publick Advertiser*, in a dis-" guised hand, and with such scrupulous caution and se-" crecy, are those very letters which were published in " that paper, under the signatures of *Junius* and *Philo-*" *Junius*, of *Lucius* and *Brutus.*"

The day after the publication of my second letter, there appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* a letter from Mr. Almon, replying

replying in ſtrong, but moderate and reſpectful terms, to Mr. W. Woodfall's unprovoked and wholly unſupported attack on him, and paſſing over in total ſilence the coarſeneſs of his language.

Mr. W. Woodfall, however, had now waxed warm in the cauſe he had eſpouſed, and he loſt not a moment in replying both to Mr. Almon's letter and mine. On the 16th of Auguſt, a ſecond letter from him appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, in which he anſwers Mr. Almon, by ſhortly telling him, "*that it is natural for the father of a* "*falſehood to protect his offspring:* and at the *very ſame time* "*complains bitterly of abuſe and ſcurrility*, as well as of my "angry and arrogant letter*."

Mr. W. Woodfall, upon finding my facts were not to be controverted, declined all further diſcuſſion concerning them; but ſaid, "*that he was convinced on grounds not within* "*my reach*, that Mr. Boyd was not the author of *Junius*." Theſe grounds, however, he has not deemed it adviſeable to ſtate to the publick; and all that he urges in his ſecond letter, relative to the point at iſſue, amounts merely to this, "that Mr. Boyd could not have written the letters "of *Junius*, becauſe his Eſſays in the *Indian Obſerver* are "inferior to thoſe performances, and becauſe he (Mr. W. "Woodfall) is of opinion that the manuſcript of *Junius* "was not a diſguiſed hand." As both theſe objections have been fully conſidered and refuted in Mr. Boyd's Life, it is unneceſſary to notice them again: but there are one

* I know not that I was *arrogant*; I am ſure I was far from being *angry*. But Mr. W. Woodfall was probably aware, that anger, like wine, frees the mind from reſtraint, and leads us on to ſpeak truth boldly; and therefore judged of the *ſtate of my mind*, from the *truth of my obſervations*.

or

or two more obſervations in Mr. W. Woodfall's letter, which for the ſake of impartiality I ſhall briefly mention.

He accuſes me of having quoted him unfairly, in the following ſentence, becauſe I omitted the words printed in *Italicks*, VIZ:—"That it muſt be admitted on all hands "that Mr. Boyd could not diſguiſe his ſtyle, *and leaſt of all* "*in that moſt extraordinary way of writing above his own reach* "*of literary talent*," for, ſays he, the words in Italicks convey the *whole force of the argument!!*—Now I certainly did omit theſe *words*, not becauſe I wiſhed to treat him unfairly, but becauſe I thought their abſurdity too obvious to require to be pointed out. Cannot Mr. W. Woodfall perceive that when he ſays, "*Mr. Boyd could not write* "*above his own reach of literary talent*," it is moſt miſerably begging the queſtion; as it is taking for granted the very point in diſcuſſion. The queſtion was, Whether Mr. Boyd's talents were, or were not equal to the taſk of writing the letters of *Junius?* And it was therefore neceſſary to have reſolved that queſtion in the cleareſt and moſt ſatisfactory manner, before he called *on all hands to admit* that Mr. Boyd, by having written the letters of *Junius*, would have *gone beyond his own reach of literary talent*. Mr. W. Woodfall might have called on thoſe, who had previouſly agreed with him to allow this; but to commence an argument with declaring that *all ſides muſt admit*, as a matter beyond diſpute, the very point which that ſame argument is intended to eſtabliſh, is ſurely the very *acmè* of abſurdity.

Mr. William Woodfall next obſerves, "That the "writer of *Junius* ſent ſeveral private letters to his bro- "ther, ſome of them containing letters to individuals of "diſtinguiſhed character, which he requeſted his brother "to convey." And he then calls upon me to point out the perſons to whom theſe letters were addreſſed. Now I candidly

candidly confeſs I do not exactly know either the addreſs or the purport of *all* thoſe letters; nor is ſuch a piece of knowledge neceſſarily connected with this queſtion, which is not to diſcover to whom *Junius* addreſſed private letters, but who wrote the letters ſigned *Junius*. But, if Mr. Woodfall chooſes to point out to whom they were written, I am fully perſuaded they will have a tendency ſtill farther to confirm the poſitive fact that MR. BOYD WAS JUNIUS.

The laſt letter which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* immediately relating to this controverſy was one from Mr. Almon, wherein he juſtly obſerves, "that Mr. W. "Woodfall has left the diſpute about the perſon of *Juni-* "*us* preciſely where he began it; and has been compelled "to acknowledge that neither he, nor his brother ever "knew any thing about the real author of *Junius*.—And "that when one obſerves Mr. W. Woodfall's boaſting of "his brother having ſhewn him every letter of *Junius* in "the manuſcript, previous to publication, one cannot help "ſaying, that *Junius* was perfectly right in keeping them "both in a ſtate of total ignorance of him."

"Of two intereſting facts concerning *Junius*, neither of "the Woodfalls had ever the leaſt information, and I ſay "it with confidence, notwithſtanding Mr. Woodfall's un- "founded aſſumption: one is the reaſon, or cauſe of *Ju-* "*nius* attacking the Duke of Grafton in a manner ſo "pointedly and bitterly. It muſt have ariſen in ſome "provocation real or imaginary. The other is, *Junius* "never attacking the Grenvilles."

Such are all the material points* of this controverſy,

* There are one or two circumſtances mentioned in Mr. Wm. Woodfall's letters which having had occaſion to quote in the Life of Mr. Boyd, I have not thought it neceſſary to repeat here.

which

which it will be found I have ſtated with ſtrict impartiality, and from which I ſhall leave the reader to draw his own concluſion.

I beg leave to cloſe this account with the following letter from Mr. Almon, which I received a few weeks after the controverſy had ceaſed, and which will be found to throw additional light on the general queſtion.

Box-Moor, near Hempſtead, Herts,
Sept. 2d, 1799.

Dear Sir,

YOUR having poſtponed the publication of Mr. Boyd's Life to another ſeaſon, affords me an opportunity to add a few obſervations to thoſe contained in my letter of laſt year.

The principal objection made to Mr. Boyd's being the writer of the letters ſigned *Junius*, is, that his talents were inferior to the compoſition of thoſe papers. This is putting the whole objection into as few words as poſſible. There are two things neceſſary to ſupport this objection; one is, that the perſon who makes it ſhould be *well acquainted* with Mr. Boyd's talents; and the other is, that he ſhould be a *good judge* of literary compoſition.

Of Mr. Boyd's literary talents I have already ſpoken in my letter above mentioned; and therefore I ſhall only add, that Mr. W. Woodfall, who has brought this objection forward into the public prints, knew very little of Mr. Boyd, conſequently he does not poſſeſs the firſt qualification neceſſary to ſupport his objection.

In a letter, which he has publiſhed in one of the public prints, dated on the 21ſt of laſt month, he ſays, "With "regard to what Mr. Almon ſays of the poſſible envy I "might entertain of Mr. Boyd's ſuperior capacity as a "parliamentary debate reporter, I will fairly tell him, "that *I do not believe that Mr. Boyd poſſeſſed any ſuch talent.*"

Every one of Mr. Boyd's friends know very well, that he poſſeſſed this talent in a more eminent degree than any other perſon, hitherto heard of. It was no ſecret; he never concealed it. In his ordinary converſation, he would frequently repeat, with aſtoniſhing accuracy, whole paſſages from ſpeeches he had heard in both houſes of parliament. It was impoſſible to know Mr. Boyd, and not to know the wonderful powers of his memory.—This is the ſtrongeſt proof Mr. Woodfall could give, that he *knew nothing* of Mr. Boyd's talents.

As to Mr. Woodfall's *judgment* on literary compoſition, I ſhall not diſturb it: but I believe that thoſe who know him beſt, will be inclined to doubt it moſt. His pretended knowledge of *Junius;* or who was *not Junius*, amounts to nothing. He never knew *who* was *Junius*. I ſaid it before, and I repeat it now.

My reaſons for believing the letters of *Junius* to have been written by Mr. Boyd, you have in my former letter. But ſince ſending you that letter, further reaſons have occurred to me; which I ſhall now ſubmit to you.

During the time of the original publication of *Junius*'s letters, it was common amongſt perſons of diſtinction, to aſk each other, what could be the cauſe of the writer's ſo *particularly* attacking the Duke of Grafton?—At this time Mr. Boyd reſided in London, and lived on the moſt friendly terms of intimacy, and even confidence, with Mr. Harry Macleane, the younger brother of Mr. Lauchlin Macleane,

who

who was ſecretary to Lord Shelburne, when that noble Lord was ſecretary of ſtate. About three months before the publication of theſe letters commenced, Lord Shelburne was removed from his office of ſecretary of ſtate, and conſequently Mr. Macleane loſt his place. This was a great diſappointment to Mr. Macleane, who had fair proſpects. The removal of Lord Shelburne, was the act of the Duke of Grafton; or rather (in our conſtitutional language) it was done by the *advice* of the Duke of Grafton, who was then firſt lord of the treaſury. I fear this will be thought a preſumptuous aſſertion; but when a man puts his name to a writing, he ſhould be pretty certain, that what he ſays is true. Whoever has acceſs to the India Papers, will find, in the Minutes of Conſultation on the twenty-ſecond day of January 1776, 'A ſhort Memo-'rial of Services rendered to the Nabob of Arcot, by 'John Macpherſon, Eſq. whom he (the Nabob) ſent 'upon a *ſecret* commiſſion to his Majeſty's firſt mini-'ſter of ſtate in 1767.' The Memorial ſets out with ſaying, "Upon my arrival at the court of Britain to-"wards the latter end of the year 1768, I found two im-"portant changes had happened in adminiſtration; the "Earl of Chatham had retired in ſuch a manner from "power, as convinced the moſt intelligent upon theſe ſub-"jects, that there was but little proſpect of his ever again "poſſeſſing a lead in adminiſtration; the Earl of Shel-"burne had been diſmiſſed, at the *inſtigation* of the Duke "of Grafton, from the office of ſecretary of ſtate*."

The

* This memorial contains ſeveral curious facts; and amongſt others, the following:

'I obtained from my friend the Earl of Warwick, a letter of introduction to his Grace [the Duke of Grafton]. I waited upon his Grace, and preſented him with a general plan of India, and a plan by which the concerns of that country might be turned to the pub-

The *diſmiſſion* of Lord Shelburne (as it is called in the Memorial) took place in the month of October 1768, and the firſt letter of *Junius* was publiſhed in the month of January 1769. At this time ſcarcely a day paſſed, that Mr. Harry Macleane did not call upon Mr. Boyd, to detail the news and politicks, communicated to him by his brother, with whom Mr. Boyd often dined. At this time Mr. Grattan was alſo in London, and they aſſociated together in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, and 1771; particularly Mr. Grattan and Mr. Boyd, who were always on terms of the cloſeſt friendſhip.

Mr. Lauchlin Macleane was patronized by Lord Shelburne, Mr. Grattan by Lord Charlemont, who brought him into the Iriſh parliament; but Mr. Boyd had no patron; he was ſolicitous of the friendſhip of Lord Temple, and he would have obtained it, if that noble Lord had lived a little longer.

lick advantage.-----The letter [from the Nabob] and credential preſents were then preſented: the anſwer of the Duke of Grafton, did honour to the beſt of kings, and the firſt of nations.'

"SIR,

"It is my ſincere diſpoſition, that the Nabob ſhould have every ſupport that is conſiſtent with the power and intereſts of the crown to give. I will gladly receive from you every propoſal upon that ſubject, and warmly repreſent them to my Sovereign; and I deſire you to believe, that the Nabob's intereſt runs no riſk from my want of caution; if you write to him, inform him of my wiſhes for his proſperity, and explain to him, that I will not accept his preſents, however great my reſpect for him is; I will have no return for the juſt regard I owe him as a man, but my own ſenſibility. It is from my fidelity to my maſter, and duty to my country, that I will only ſerve him as miniſter."

'Overwhelmed with the nobleneſs of this anſwer, I took up the preſents, and offered them in the name of the Nabob to his Grace's ſecretary, Mr. Bradſhaw, who alſo refuſed them.'

Previous

Previous to the publication of *Junius*'s letters, the Grenvilles were all reconciled to each other, and to Lord Chatham. It was at this time the general opinion of all ranks, that these persons must succeed to the highest departments of the state, whenever a change of ministers took place.

In this short narrative, it may be presumed, that two points are explained, which have often excited surprise; one is, the apparent, or probable cause of attacking the Duke of Grafton; the other is, the apparent, or probable motive for sparing the Grenvilles.

Whether Messrs. Macleane and Mr. Grattan contributed to the composition of these letters, is a matter only known to themselves. Perhaps they did not, otherwise than by conversation. Perhaps Mr. Boyd did not choose to trust them with his secret, and therefore he might truly say, "That he was the SOLE depository of his own secret, "and it should perish with him." If we admit this declaration to be true, and hitherto there has been no reason to doubt it, *circumstances* are the only proofs which can be offered: and *such circumstances* as have fallen within my knowledge, I have produced. They are sufficient to convince me. If any person has *better* proofs, that some other gentleman was the author of those letters, let him produce them; but until they are produced, I shall continue in my present opinion.

I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

J. ALMON.

POLITICAL
ESSAYS.

THE FREEHOLDER.

A SERIES OF LETTERS,

ADDRESSED TO

The ELECTORS of the COUNTY of ANTRIM,

(In IRELAND,)

PUBLISHED AT BELFAST,

Previous to the General Election in the Year 1776.

Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt.

ADVERTISEMENT

To the firſt Edition publiſhed by the Author in 1776.

THE flattering partiality with which the following LETTERS have been received by the Publick, even in their detached ſtate, it is hoped will juſtify the Author in this collective publication. He is conſcious that they are not ſufficiently prepared to encounter the ſeverity of criticiſm. But they are intended to gain the concurrence of Patriots, not the approbation of Criticks; and though their compoſition ſhould not be correct, he is perſuaded their principles are juſt.

The urgency of the occaſion preſſes for their publication, without time for correction, or even reviſal. He thinks it neceſſary however

however to advert, in a Preface, to a few points, either omitted in the Letters, or not sufficiently explained. The Series then follows, as they at first appeared in the publick Paper. The indulgence with which they were read, he trusts, will continue to attend them; and is not without hopes that their efficacy may be now increased.

PREFACE.

THE writer, whoſe unfortunate neceſſity it is to inculcate ſelf-evident truths, has a delicate, and often a thankleſs office.—For it implies an extraordinary ſuſpicion either of the dulneſs of his readers which cannot underſtand, or their obſtinacy that will not confeſs. They, however, will probably have room to retort; and to complain that he, who perſiſts in preſſing obvious propoſitions, grows either dull or didactick. The man, for inſtance, who goes about to demonſtrate that two and two make four, muſt have a very contemptuous opinion of the talents of his friends, or a very high one of his own, if he expect to render the ſubject agreeable. Equally ſelf-evident are the propoſitions, that duty to our country is the higheſt

higheſt under heaven, that independence is more honourable than ſlavery, and liberty a happier ſtate than bondage; with many others which the following Letters urge and repeat: the neceſſity of this repetition may be worth inquiring into. It is ſomewhat curious as well as uſeful to examine why doctrines indubitably true, are ſo doubtfully received, and require to be ſo particularly preſſed.

Cuſtom has been called the tyrant of fools. But it is more. It is too often the ſanction of bad, and the deceiver of good men. A natural reſpect, an obedient ſort of veneration is paid to the habits, the diſpoſitions, and even to the errors, which have long prevailed. Every thing done appears to be right; whatever has been ſuffered is thought to be neceſſary. If, for a moment, a few finer ſpirits attempt to ſtem the torrent, their effort is overwhelmed in the multitude of contempt and ridicule with which the willing ſufferers affect to treat it. Ignoble precedent prevails; and we ſit down the contented heirs of ſervile calamity and paſſive obedience.

Thus

Thus thought and thus ſuffered the ſpiritleſs race of Cappadocia; whoſe blotted name for ever ſtains the page of hiſtory. She bluſhed while ſhe records their depravity in rejecting the glorious boon of liberty, offered to them by their too generous conquerors. They preferred their uſual ſervitude, and hugged their accuſtomed chains. Warned by this infamous example, let nations guard againſt precedents of ſlavery. Human nature is every where the ſame; and is always ſubject to degeneracy: and the ſame diſgraceful cauſes neceſſarily produce the ſame ruin. Acquieſcence to oppreſſion is an admiſſion of its right; and this admiſſion daily enfeebles the oppreſſed, whilſt it more than in the ſame proportion ſtrengthens the oppreſſor; for it adds opinion to his cauſe. Uſurpation ſwells and triumphs in its eaſy conqueſt, till at length the little remains of ſpirit in the people are annihilated. They at firſt neglected, next they are unable, and at laſt they ſink into an unwillingneſs to claim their rights. Their ſlavery is decreed: and the tyrants are quieted in poſſeſſion of their power.

In theſe countries, where liberty was the peculiar boaſt, and, as ſome of our old writers emphatically expreſs it, congenial to the very ſoil,—the proper element of the free inhabitants,—it is equally to be wondered at and lamented that any cauſe ſhould avail to its decay; but particularly that the ſervile preſcription of cuſtom ſhould be ſet up againſt it. But in truth it is unfairly pleaded. For it is not the genuine ancient cuſtom of the country. This ſervile ſubjection to ſuperiours, as they are called, but who are really ſuperiour in nothing but the accidents of rank and title, is the ſpurious and corrupted uſage of modern times; and as different in nature as in authority from the exemplary practice of former ages. The learned and virtuous Selden well explained this ſubject to the firſt James. The arbitrary Pedant aſked that eminent lawyer, what law there was to juſtify the right which the people claimed to reſiſt his power? "It is not authorized in the books," ſaid Selden. "I thought ſo," cried James, in triumph. "But pleaſe your majeſty," returned Selden, "there is

a law ſuperiour to the books; it is the *cuſtom of England.*"

This country ſurely will not relinquiſh her ſiſter-claim to rights ſo reſpectably juſtified. Rival of the liberties and the glories of her ſiſter-kingdom, ſhe will feel and ſhe will exert her duty to reſiſt the violations of her conſtitution, whether attempted by monarchy on the throne, or ariſtocracy around it. Conſcious of the national importance of the preſent criſis, ſhe will not pervert nor neglect it. Neither the tameneſs of modern cuſtom, nor the ariſtocratick influence of titled uſurpers, ſhall lull nor intimidate her into a deſertion of her rights; particularly her primary fundamental right of free election. Nor will her ſpirit ſuffer her to adopt the deſpondency of ſome of her degenerate ſons.

For beſides the diſgraceful plea of cuſtomary ſervitude, there are certain whining reaſoners who affect to deſpair of the conſtitution. To what purpoſe, they aſk, are individual exertions of patriotiſm? Majorities in parliament, they complain, are certain; government invincible; penſions and

places

places numerous and deciſive; and rotten boroughs an incurable evil. Thence they infer that it matters not whether it be well or ill repreſented; that all is vanity and vexation of ſpirit; and that no advantage can be derived from any candidate whatever. But this is wiſer or juſter in political, than it would be in moral reaſoning, if the rich man were to ſay to the wretch who ſolicited alms, "My good friend, thou art miſerably poor; therefore I will give thee nothing: I ſee you have been ſtripped, robbed, and abuſed, and ſtand in the extremeſt need of my aſſiſtance; and for that reaſon, thou ſhalt have none from me?" For, in the preſent inſtance, the electors are the rich and powerful men of the realm. They have in their voices the real conſtitutional wealth; which, if they rightly diſpenſe it to relieve the neceſſities of their country, will return through her enriched channels with immeaſurable intereſt to themſelves. But it is to invert all principles of common ſenſe and common juſtice, to argue that we ought not to ſupport our country becauſe ſhe is oppreſſed. The very reaſon which

ſhould

ſhould ſpur us on to the moſt active exertions, is impudently manufactured into a deceitful opiate to dull and blunt our ſpirits. And in this inſtance it would be peculiarly ſpiritleſs and abſurd for electors to deſpair of a cauſe, which is immediately their own, and ſolely in their own power.

Surely this great and reſpectable County will not incur the reproach of deſerting ſuch a cauſe, and ſacrificing both the rights and power of the people. Other northern counties,—for liberty, with her two ſupporters induſtry and the proteſtant religion, is a native of the north,—exhibit a conduct more honourable. Derry, Donegall, Armagh, ſtand forward in the liſt of the aſſertors of publick freedom. Independence has ſtruck a deep root in the land; and will branch out and flouriſh over the country. Some of the moſt conſiderable cities and boroughs, with the metropolis at their head, concur in the cauſe. The electors of Ireland begin to feel their ſituation, and to know themſelves; that without whining their deſperate prayers to Jove or Hercules for aſſiſtance, they need only apply their own

own ſhoulders to the wheel; and that their own efforts will certainly avail, to extricate the political machine from the bogs and filth which have hitherto clogged its operations.

But fact, as well as argument, is againſt this unmanly deſpair. The defeat of the mortgage-bill, the repeal of the veſtry-bill, and other ſignal ſucceſſes in parliament, are memorable proofs of the advantages to be derived to the country from conſtitutional repreſentatives. Theſe eminent ſervices plead unanſwerably in favour of the atchievers of them; and inculcate, beyond contradiction, as well to our intereſt as our gratitude, the neceſſity of electing the ſame victorious patriots to oppoſe with equal ſucceſs the revival of thoſe dangerous deſigns, and the innovation of other miſchiefs which impend. For, let this country be timely warned. The ſpirit of deſpotiſm is gone forth. Oppreſſion her object, devaſtation her means, famine, ſword, and fire her inſtruments, even now ſhe ravages the new world. If Heaven, for ultimate purpoſes beyond human reach, permit ſucceſs

to

to the oppreſſor; and if that mighty continent muſt ſink to ſlavery, can this little iſland hope for a happier doom; unleſs ſhe call forth all her virtue, and exert all her ſpirit, to deſerve and to obtain it? Fluſhed with the falſe glories of her unnatural conqueſt, will the power of England ſpare her paſſive ſiſter-kingdom, when ſhe has cruſhed the active and juſt exertions of her ſons? This unhappy country will then feel, and will lament too late, the miſchiefs of her voluntary folly, in abetting the tyranny of the parent-ſtate over her dependencies. For, what better name than tyranny can be given to a ſyſtem of arbitrary exaction, ſupported by the ſword?—What other principles can actuate our rulers to the proſecution of ſuch a war? What is its object? Not taxation. That the miniſters have publickly diſclaimed in parliament: and General Burgoyne in his letter to Lee expreſsly abandons it. "If," ſays he, "relief from the uncommercial taxes, (tea, &c.) be the object of the quarrel, the war is at an end." Why then was not that relief afforded them, in order to end the war? Becauſe the miniſters pretended

pretended it would not have ſatisfied America. "She aims at independence, and total diſconnexion from Great-Britain!" The miniſters ſay ſo; perhaps they think ſo. But ſhall the random or malicious gueſſes of ignorant men, for ſuch they have been proved, be admitted as concluſive evidence againſt the peace and happineſs of the empire. Certainly not: even if no anſwer were given to them. For to accuſe, is not to condemn; and adminiſtration are not yet participant of the infallibility of their new ally at Rome; ſo as to command implicit aſſent to their aſſertions, becauſe they are theirs. But America can give up this advantage of throwing the proof on her accuſers; aud can diſprove this only charge againſt her, even to demonſtration. There are but three ways to diſcover the intentions of men; viz. their declarations, their actions, and their intereſt. When theſe concur, my poſition is, that they prove the intention. I aſſert then, and it is plain matter of fact, that they do concur to ſhew the earneſt intention of America to continue her accuſtomed dependence on the mother-country.

Their

Their *declarations* to that effect have been uniform, ſolemn, and full. In all the votes, reſolutions, petitions, publications of the Congreſs, that obedient idea of naval and commercial dependence is anxiouſly maintained. That admirable aſſembly, which in wiſdom, virtue, and fortitude, truly repreſents its conſtituents, deprecates only the monſtrous and mad proceeding, which would add to the monopoly of their trade and manufacture an arbitrary taxation of their internal property. And it is particularly obſervable, that they only complain of the arbitrary practice of univerſal taxation; and not of the general principle. For in all their applications, either to King or Parliament, they never require the repeal of the declaratory act, which eſtabliſhes that principle: but it intends it however, as all principles ought to be intended, to be acted upon with equity and moderation.—The ſupreme power and right of Great-Britain is there declared "in all caſes whatſoever." And it may be admitted to exiſt in all caſes, either external or internal. But the declaratory act does not, cannot ſay, that it

equally exiſts at all times, and for all purpoſes; to be exerciſed arbitrarily either to glut corruption, to indulge caprice, or to ſatiate revenge. There may be a right; but it may loſe its nature, and become the moſt odious wrong, by unjuſt exertions. The King, for inſtance, may have a right to preſs his ſubjects, or a particular deſcription of them, into the ſea-ſervice. And the moſt conſtitutional lawyers decide ſo. But even the moſt hardened lawyer would bluſh to aſſert, and the tameſt ſlave would riſe to reſiſt, a perpetual, unneceſſary, and oppreſſive abuſe of it.—But, to return. We have ſeen the *declarations* of America conſtantly in proof of their dutiful dependent intentions. Let us try them by the next criterion, their *actions*.

The fair point of view to judge theſe in, is a ſituation ſimilar to the preſent; or, at leaſt, to what was lately the ſituation of both countries; when I maintain the innocence of America as to independent views: which if ſhe now entertains, we can only blame our own infatuation that has compelled her. The point of view I wiſh

to

to take is the ſtate of America, previous to the repeal of the ſtamp-act. She was then, according to the language of parliamentary journals, "in outrageous rebellion." To reſtore the happineſs and connexion of both countries, a repeal of that act was propoſed. Then, as now, it was objected to by the falſe dignity of ſome, and the ſhort-ſighted prudence of others. It was then, as now, urged, "We muſt not give up the rights of the mother-country:—America will take advantage of our conceſſions, and will proceed to diſpute our commercial authority, and to throw off her dependence." Juſtice, however, and good policy, prevailed againſt theſe injurious prejudices; and the ſtamp-act was repealed. The *actions* of America then evinced the ſincerity of her dutiful diſpoſitions: for ſhe fell back to her obedient and ſubordinate ſtation with an alacrity which extorted acknowledgment and praiſe even from her enemies; and the only advantage ſhe made of our wiſe conceſſion, was to co-operate in reſtoring the harmony and happineſs of the empire. It was reſtored; and would have been eſtabliſhed,

but for our fatal relapſe into the former folly. About two years afterwards, the attempt at internal taxation was revived; and what was perhaps ſtill more vexatious, was continued, at a memorable period which ſoon followed,—though Lord Hilſborough had, in the name of all the miniſters, expreſsly diſclaimed it, in his publick letter to the Colonies. The violence and folly which have ever ſince diſgraced our councils and our arms, are not to my preſent purpoſe; which is only to prove the peaceful and obedient diſpoſition of America; from which ſhe was driven by the revival of our oppreſſions, Theſe are unanſwerable facts; which however are either unknown, or miſunderſtood, by thoſe who decide rather by opinion than argument; and who judge more by their own paſſions, than the actions of thoſe whom they condemn.

As to the *intereſt* of America, little need be ſaid to prove how much her ſtrength, her wealth, her ſecurity, and happineſs, depend on Great-Britain. It is undeniable in argument that infinite advantages muſt be derived to Colonies from the protection of a pow-

a powerful Mother-country, while ſhe diſpenſes to them a participation of her laws and her freedom, as far as the nature of Colonies can admit, and is content with their honourable dependence on her, without ſtraining it to total ſlavery. The happy experience of ages confirms this theory. Our Colonies grew and flouriſhed under our wing. Their commerce expanded under our regulations; their wealth encreaſed by our permiſſion. Their manners took a poliſh from our example; and the affection of the ſuperiour ſtate indulged to them the means of elegant felicity. They knew the happineſs, the ſtrength of their ſituation; and they anxiouſly wiſh its return. They deprecate the idea of diſconnexion from Great-Britain, or independence, as it is called, as a ſevere calamity; to be exceeded by none but ſlavery. The alternative to them is terrible: and nothing can drive them to adopt the former part of it, but our perſiſting to preſs the latter. So think, and ſo have argued, their beſt and wiſeſt writers. The famous author of the Farmer's Letters has amply explained the *intereſt* of America to require a depen-

a dependence on Great-Britain. The ſtill more famous Dr. Franklin, whoſe name ſhall for ever rank, not only with the wiſeſt politicians of his time, but with the moſt eminent philoſophers of any age or country, has thoroughly proved the miſchiefs in which this dreaded independence muſt involve America. In his very able argument, publiſhed in ſupport of Lord Bath's pamphlet above thirty years ago, the ſubject is fully diſcuſſed. The claſhing intereſts of twelve or fourteen rival Powers, different in religion, government, manners,—reſembling only in an hoſtile jealouſy each of the other, are moſt formidably ſtated by him. And it is certain that ſuch a ſtriſe of elements muſt produce almoſt an incurable chaos of confuſion. No ſuperintending power to preſide, and to pacify;—no omnipotence of legiſlation to quell the turbulent ſcene, and bid order riſe; the univerſal tumult muſt continue: and a fortuitous concourſe in the political creation of the new world would be as deſperate, as it is incredible in the natural account of the old one.—Againſt this poſition, no argument can be drawn

from the preſent union of the Colonies. It is a ſudden, ſingular, miraculous event. *Quod divûm promittere nemo auderet.*—The miniſters pronounced it impoſſible. We had their awful and frequent aſſurances that it could not happen; or if it happened, that it could not laſt. And I will admit to them that every appearance was probable that it could not: except, perhaps, the aſſertion of the miniſtry. That being againſt its poſſibility, induced many, who beſt knew the wiſdom and truth of the Cabinet, certainly to expect it.—But it muſt be remembered that this extraordinary ſtate of things has been produced, and is protracted, by cauſes equally extraordinary. The unheard-of oppreſſions attempted by one country have called into action and into union, an unheard-of ſpirit in the other;—a ſpirit, compounded of liberty, virtue, and valour, ſupporting an union unrivalled in the annals of mankind. And while the attempted oppreſſion laſts, the ſpirit will ſpread and accumulate, and the union ſtrengthen. Till, when at laſt the feebleneſs of deſpotiſm ſhall fail, and the *vis conſilî expers mole ruat ſuâ*, this

this extraordinary fabrick of united intereſts ſhall alſo diſſolve. When the cement which held them together is withdrawn, they naturally ſink and ſeparate. It was the common enemy that made common cauſe among them. With that powerful motive, the effect would alſo ceaſe: for their intereſts would ceaſe to be common; or, at leaſt to appear ſo. And they muſt ſoon realize one of the dreams of the Prieſt of Glouceſter, by falling into confuſion and ruin: but nothing under omnipotence could realize his viſions of proſperity to theſe countries; or reſtore the ſtrength of the diſmembered empire.

If therefore the declarations, the actions, and the intereſt of men, be the means of collecting their intentions,—and I know no other;—and if theſe methods concur to vindicate America from aiming at independence, as I maintain they do; ſhe ſtands acquitted from the charge: and this miniſterial aſſertion, avowedly the only baſis of the war, has no foundation in fact. My inference is, that the avowal of the miniſtry is a pretence to cover the blackeſt deſigns. For deſigns cannot be fair, that are carried

on

on through deception, and enforced by violence. Taxation is not the object of the war. The miniſters diſclaim it. To check the independent views of America, was not the motive; for no ſuch views were entertained, and therefore no ſuch motive could exiſt. But liberty exiſted, flouriſhed, in that great continent; and that is a crime of the deepeſt dye in the ethicks of modern polity. Certainly and conſiſtently ſo; for our miniſters have the merit of uniformity in oppreſſion. They have a ſyſtem to ſupport; and they muſt reduce to it the irregular wanderings of ſpirit, or of virtue. It is not at all wonderful that ſuch a ſyſtem ſhould exiſt. It has, in different proportions, exiſted often in theſe countries; and conſtantly in others. But it is rather extraordinary that it ſhould ever find ſupporters ſufficiently hardened to avow and to glory in it:—that even Mr. Rigby ſhould not bluſh to maintain the neceſſity of tyranny. "We muſt cruſh America," ſays this humane and modeſt gentleman. "We muſt not propoſe, nor accept any terms of accommodation; we muſt enforce from them

them a total, unconditional, abſolute ſubjection." To this doctrine, and theſe meaſures, let Ireland ſeriouſly attend: for, through the amiable medium of this gentleman's tenderneſs, the argument and the danger come home to us. It is his favourite theme, and no doubt would be his ſpeedy practice, and that of his powerful connexion, as part of the ſyſtem they purſue, to rule Ireland with the ſame rod of iron with which they ſcourge, or attempt to ſcourge, America. And why ſhould they not? It is their ſyſtem. They claim a right *to cruſh us:* and we ſeem to admit their claim. Preciſely the ſame principle of arbitrary dominion over the property and liberty of America, unlimited and unconditional, which ſome of the publick bodies of this kingdom have applauded, will operate againſt the liberty and property of Ireland. And it will indubitably be enforced againſt us; for our politeneſs will yield a much richer and cheaper ſpoil, than the rugged reſiſtance of the continent. Then, when the land-tax is let looſe againſt us to devour the country; —when the exciſe riſes like a peſtilence to grind the faces and penetrate the vitals of the

the poor;—when the unſparing hand of power wrings from us the uttermoſt farthing to purchaſe the little light of Heaven that ſhall be able to pierce through the clouds of our miſeries;—when the whole region of revenue-plagues ſhall come upon us like an armed man;—ſhall we dare to complain?—ſhall we preſume to murmur? "No," we ſhall well be told, "you have "approved our principle, and encouraged "our proceedings. If the principle were "unjuſt, why have you juſtified it? If the "proceedings be violent, why did you vin-"dicate them? You have applauded and "ſanctified our doctrine and our meaſures: "and have offered your lives and fortunes "in their ſupport. We now demand "them; but, we tell you for your com-"fort, we ſhould have taken them whether "you offered them or not:" "For, we have "a right to cruſh you into unconditional "ſubjection."

I have been thus particular in ſtating the great American queſtion, to warn my countrymen of the critical ſituation of my country:—to rouſe them to a ſenſe of their danger and their

their duty; and to inculcate a correſpondent conduct of ſpirit and virtue. Their opportunity, and their only opportunity, is at hand. They may now give their honeſt voice in parliament; and affect the intereſts of their country there, through a real conſtitutional repreſentative; who dedicates himſelf ſolely to them, and to their cauſe; and who has given deciſive proofs of his ability, as well as uncorruptible inclination, to ſerve them.

The ſignal inſtance of patriotiſm in rejecting the offer of a ſeat in parliament, becauſe he would not for a moment detach himſelf from the cauſe of the people, is adverted to in the following Letters. The equally noble and diſintereſted reſignation of his military emoluments, deſerve equal praiſe, gratitude, and ſupport, from his aſſociates in the cauſe of liberty; and extorts reluctant applauſe even from the adverſary. To all the world he proves the generoſity of his principle, which diſdained the wages that might inſtitute a claim upon him for a ſervice, which he thought a ſervice of oppreſſion. To the judicious and the juſt, who knew it to be ſo, he

he evinces the wiſdom, as well as the diſintereſtedneſs, of his patriotiſm. Theſe are ſolid and ſubſtantial demonſtrations of ſincerity. Appearances may ſeem to flatter; probabilities may tend to perſuade; but facts convince. Sacrifices, of this ſerious import, are not made for nothing. They argue a decided and confirmed opinion; and eſtabliſh a certainty of its orthodox continuance. Except indeed with thoſe political ſceptics, who doubt the poſſibility of publick virtue. This libel on mankind was firſt publiſhed by Sir Robert Walpole. And it came properly from him. It cannot be wondered that corruption and vice ſhould vilify virtue. Or it may be admitted that they mean not to calumniate, but really miſtake the point: as the drunken wretch, looking with diſtorted opticks through the medium of his own ſituation, imagines every other perſon in the ſame ſtate of intoxication with himſelf. The malice or the blindneſs of ſuch men knows no bounds; nor diſtinguiſhes any character. Even the ſacred manes of John Hampden, are violated by the

the injurious inſinuations of the Scotch hiſtorian.

To ſuch aſſaſſins of character, let us leave the ungenerous calumny. Capable of conceiving, becauſe conſcious in our own breaſts of its exiſtence, let us approve ourſelves anxious to reward diſintereſted publick virtue. Let us coolly and unbiaſſedly compare the perſonal merits and the conſtitutional claims of our candidates; and let us effectually ſupport the man, who ſhall be found to have an undiſputable preference.

THE FREEHOLDER.

LETTER I.

They are the Truſtees, not the Owners, of the Eſtate. The Fee-ſimple is in Us. JUNIUS.

THE great writer whoſe words I have placed at the head of my paper, is juſtly acknowledged to excel, in ſplendour of imagery, and in ſtrength of diction. But his excellence extends to points ſtill more important. No writer has inveſtigated with ſuch ſagacity, nor with ſuch clearneſs pointed out, the true nature of our admirable conſtitution. The wiſdom and learning of Locke had aſcertained ſome great fundamental maxims, which conſtituted, or at leaſt contributed to form, the baſis of our liberties.

But

But it remained for the ſucceeding addreſs and eloquence of Junius to encounter and to ſubdue, at leaſt in the fields of argument, the more refined corruptions of later times.

The gradual decay of the democratical part of our conſtitution, gives more ſerious alarm to every man, who knows how to value the legal freedom, *of regulating his actions by his own reaſon;* and *of diſpoſing his property according to his own will*, for his own, and his country's advantage. Theſe ſignal, and godlike, privileges have hitherto bleſſed theſe happy kingdoms. To ſecure, to perpetuate the bleſſing, is the duty of every man in them. It is peculiarly ours, my countrymen and fellow-freeholders.—— It is indiſpenſibly ours: for, "the fee-ſimple is in us."

Permit therefore *one of yourſelves*, thus to fulfil his duty to his country, by ſubmitting to you, with no other confidence than what truth inſpires, his thoughts on this moſt important ſubject; and at this critical opportunity, which alone has been given to us, by the virtue of perſevering patriotiſm, to emancipate

emancipate our freeholds, and to vindicate the conſtitution.

We are no longer ſunk in the dead repoſe of deſpotiſm, and long parliaments. Thoſe ſtagnations of corruption and filth, ſhall no more poiſon the land. "*Alba nautis ſtella* "*refulſit.*" The returning day-ſtar of the conſtitution again illuminates the political hemiſphere; and, in fulneſs of ſplendour, diſplays the glorious moment which reſtores to us our original rights. The power which we delegated, and the truſt which we conferred, revert to us. The conſtitution regenerates. And the new birth inſpires new vigour. As the giant received renovation of ſtrength from touching his mother earth, ſo the rights of the people acquire new ſpring and force, when brought back to their original and parent-ſource, the people's voice.

Surely my brethren will not be ſo blind to their moſt eſſential intereſts, as to neglect, or abuſe, this only opportunity of protecting them. Is there a man amongſt you, who will not praiſe and honour that truly conſtitutional meaſure, the bill for ſhortening the

duration of parliaments? Shall there then be found a ſlave, ſo ſottiſhly dull, or ſo ſhameleſsly baſe, as to thwart the glorious purpoſe intended by that admirable bill?—The purpoſe of independence—the cauſe of liberty!

Such, my friends, are the invaluable bleſſings now within our graſp. Such are the tranſcendant rewards now preſented to us by the opportunity of an election. Power now returns to its genuine centre, the will of the people. It is theirs, and only theirs, to put it in action, and to preſcribe its operations. The vital blood ebbs back to the heart of the *conſtitution*. Let us imitate the wiſdom of nature, and we ſhall attain its ſucceſsful effects. Let us give the vital ſtreams again to flow through their conſtitutional channels. So ſhall the health of the whole body be reſtored, and its ſtrength eſtabliſhed. Every part of it ſhall revive and flouriſh. And the ghaſtly countenance of poverty and ſervitude, ſhall brighten into the ſmile of happineſs and the triumph of liberty.

I have ſaid, that the opportunity of attaining theſe glorious objects is now preſented

to

to us. To prove this important truth, and to inculcate the uſe we ſhould make of this important criſis, ſhall be the buſineſs of my future letters.

In the mean time, permit me to add a word relative to myſelf. If the cauſe of truth required aſſiſtance, perhaps ſome might be derived to it, from the diſintereſted character of her advocate. To begin then negatively,—I am not actuated to this undertaking by an idle ambition, of applauſe in general, nor of the particular approbation of any of your candidates: for my name is unknown, and I hope will remain ſo. I am not a great man, nor a placeman, nor a penſioner, nor a Jacobite, nor a Tory, nor a ſlave; nor do I aſpire to any of thoſe honourable appellations, either jointly or ſeverally. I do not on the other hand, "beat the drum of faction, nor ſound the trumpet of ſedition." For I do moſt *poſitively* and *ſolemnly proteſt* myſelf, a ZEALOUS FRIEND TO THE CONSTITUTION, as eſtabliſhed in CHURCH and STATE. I am religiouſly attached to the palladium of all our liberties, the liberty of the preſs. In ſhort, I am a FREEMAN; and,

---a title which I would not exchange for a French dukedom, nor the higheſt ſeat in the Turkiſh divan——

I am,

Feb. 5th, 1776.

A FREEHOLDER.

LETTER II.

I cannot doubt that you will unanimouſly aſſert the freedom of election, and vindicate your excluſive right to chooſe your repreſentatives. JUNIUS.

OUR ſuffrages are ſolicited by four candidates, for the repreſentation of our county in parliament. The nature therefore of this great object, the truſt of repreſentation, demands our moſt ſerious attention. Duly impreſſed with an awful conviction of its magnitude, we ſhall proceed, with a due proportion of anxiety, to ſcrutinize the merits of thoſe who aſpire to it.

Let

Let me, in the firſt place, conjure you, my countrymen, never to loſe ſight of the great fundamental principle, that *You are the origin of power*. Government was conſtituted *by*, and *for*, the people. This is the voice of reaſon, and the right of humanity: and applies in theory to all the nations of the world. But it is our peculiar felicity, to realize the ſpeculation; and to feel its actual bleſſings. We are *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, free.

The ſuperiour freedom of our conſtitution, reſults from the admirable diſpoſition of its component powers. Theſe are exactly competent to the pureſt purpoſes of liberty. For as the natural tendency of each, is to the benefit of all, that is, to general liberty; ſo this diſpoſition is confirmed, and confined to its object, by the relative controul of each power over the others. The people deliberate, the peers approve, and the king aſſents. This triple authority makes the law. The execution of which is entruſted to the royal arm, merely for the ſake of deciſion and diſpatch. For if the executive power abuſe its truſt, the controul

both

both of Peers and People impends, to rectify the abuſe, and to puniſh its author. *If the peers, forgetful of the truſt which their country repoſes in their wiſdom, ſhould violently aſſume new privileges; or,* BY GRADUAL ENCROACHMENT ON THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE, *ſhould graſp at ariſtocracy;* the dignity of the crown ſhould diſcountenance their attempts:—THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE WILL SUPPRESS THEM. If, laſtly, the deliberations of the people ſwell into faction and ſedition, a gentle but CERTAIN REMEDY is entruſted to the executive power. Thus theſe three powers conſtitute that ſyſtem of government, ſo peculiarly the boaſt of theſe kingdoms!—ſo juſtly the wonder of the world!

But it is particularly obſervable, that the very eſſence of this ſyſtem, is the jealous relation which the component parts bear, each to the other. This is the ruling principle; which, by checking the exceſſes of each, ſecures the juſt power and happineſs of all. If this be in any degree relaxed, the general liberty ſo far ſuffers immediate injury, and incurs the danger of abſolute ruin.

ruin. For inſtance; if the people ſhould ceaſe to be the jealous guardians of their own rights; and, inſtead of controuling the executive, ſhould implicitly acquieſce to it; that power, whoſe duty it was to execute the laws, will gradually grow above them. Furniſhed with the means of exerciſing deſpotiſm, the inclination will at leaſt keep pace with the power. Manœuvres of government will then be practiſed with ſucceſs, becauſe without reſtraint; and, though the ſpirit of the conſtitution be fled, the forms of it may be preſerved. Advances will be made with caution, leſt too violent a tranſition ſhould rouſe the ſlumbering people. Their aſſemblies may be continued, as they ceaſe to be troubleſome; for corruption is an eaſier engine than violence, and more ſurely ſucceſsful. New offices are created, and great ſalaries annexed. Old ones are continued, and receive great addition. Seduction aſſumes every ſhape, of penſion againſt law, office without employment, and ſalary without ſervice. Till, at laſt, the corrupt acts of uncontrouled ambition ſhall have undermined that conſtitution,

tion, which had for centuries repelled its open and avowed attacks: and our expiring liberty ſhall fatally verify the prediction of the ſagacious Monteſquieu, "It will periſh "when the legiſlative power ſhall be more "corrupt than the executive."

This ſhort abſtract of our conſtitution in its genuine ſtate, and of the dangers to which it is expoſed in its abuſe, will ſuggeſt to you many reflections. But none more important than this; that as the People, from their numbers, are obliged to act by repreſentation; their department of liberty is therefore more endangered. For the common maxim ſaith truly, that every man does his own buſineſs beſt. The crown has a ſingle, and therefore a clear attention to its own intereſts. And from the mighty increaſe of influence ariſing from numberleſs cauſes, ſome perhaps neceſſary, and all powerful, the rights of royalty are certainly in no danger of diminution. The Nobles are equally ſecure. Their wealth and honours, whether deſervedly poſſeſſed or not, give them great actual weight in the ſcale. And the jealous diſtant ſpirit, characteriſtick

of

of that proud body, enſure to them the preſervation of it. But the People cannot take an immediate part in legiſlation. They are obliged to delegate their power. And delegation neceſſarily weakens the original force. Your neceſſary ſituation, therefore, in the political fabrick, expoſes you to danger; even though you endeavour to take your poſt with wiſdom, and with honeſty. But if blindly you deſert your ſtation, and diſhonourably entruſt its defence to weak or wicked mercenaries, ruin muſt inevitably overwhelm the whole magnificent ſtructure of our liberties. The glorious arch which had ſupported them, muſt fall to the ground; if its key-ſtone, the independence of the people, be permitted to moulder away.

Rouſe then, my friends and fellow-freeholders! Again, and again, agitate in your minds the extenſive importance of the preſent moment. The truſt you are to repoſe, is the truſt of legiſlation. In it, are involved your property, your lives, and your liberties. If you eſteem them worth preſerving, "aſſert the freedom of election," and, "vindicate

dicate your exclusive right to choose your representatives."

Who *they* should be, I shall, with due deference to your integrity and better judgment, submit to you in my future Letters. In which, if I freely and thoroughly discuss the pretensions of our present candidates; I trust the notoriety of the subject, and its infinite importance, will amply excuse me. At all events, I can truly say with the philosopher of Geneva, "I shall find my apo-"logy and comfort at the bottom of my "heart."

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 9th, 1776.

LETTER

LETTER III.

All Members ought to be inhabitants of the places for which they are choſen. BLACKSTONE.

No Lord of Parliament hath any right to interfere in the election of Commoners. BLACKSTONE.

IT is perhaps unneceſſary, but I find it ſatisfactory to my own feelings, to premiſe an obſervation, concerning the diſcuſſion of public characters.

Every man who ſolicits public favour, *ipſo facto*, ſubmits himſelf to public trial. As the confidence of his country is the object, merit to his country ſhould be the means: and he cannot hope to gain his ſuit, until his title be thoroughly examined. In the moſt vulgar inſtances this preliminary prevails. The bailiff, who propoſes to ſuperintend your farm; the ſervant, who petitions for a menial place in your family; produces credentials of former good behaviour: and gives ſecurity for its continuance.

ance. When, therefore, higher truſts are ſolicited; the foundations of confidence ſhould be more deeply laid. Let us, my countrymen, examine them to the bottom.

The Hon. Heny Seymour Conway, the Hon. Hugh Skeffington, John O'Neill, eſq.* and James Willſon, eſq., are our candidates.—As a compliment due to *the ſtranger*, let us begin with Mr. Conway.

Mr. Conway reſides in England; fixed there by connection, by inclination, and by duty. His father is an Engliſh Earl, Lord Chamberlain to his Majeſty's houſehold, and unalienably attached to the court. Poſſeſſed of an ample fortune in Ireland, he remembers that country only in the large remittances which he draws from her exhauſted boſom: unleſs indeed his attention be ſometimes revived at the polite period of octennial condeſcenſion. All his great *talents* (conſtrue the word if you will, only as the Romans uſed it)—his univerſal ſervices, his numerous connections---as far at leaſt as

* Since the writing of this Letter, Mr. O'Neill has declined ſtanding candidate for repreſenting the county of Antrim.

he

he can ſway them---are conſtantly employed in England; and are implicitly devoted to Engliſh adminiſtration. But inclination, as well as connection, naturally attaches a young gentleman of Mr. Conway's rank and figure, to London-reſidence. Beſides he is indiſpenſably faſtened to England, by his ſeat in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons. Whether he ſits there, an *independent* ſenator, or a mere expletive of his father's intereſt, is not now inquired. He does ſit there; and he muſt remain there. How then *can* he repreſent our county in an Iriſh parliament? He is not only not "an inhabitant of this place," and therefore an unconſtitutional candidate, but he is an actual abſentee from this kingdom, and therefore an impoſſible repreſentative. The objection is inſuperable. It is not an intricate deduction of argument, to which perhaps ſpecious ſophiſtry might be oppoſed. It is an unanſwerable point of fact. He *cannot* repreſent you. Weigh then the conſequence, my friends!---I was going to ſay, *my fellow-freeholders!*---But that glorious title would no longer be yours. You would

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in effect disfranchiſe yourſelves. Every vote given to a man, who *cannot* act for you, is felony to your freeholds. It would be high-treaſon to your moſt glorious privilege, the characteriſtick of a free people! for you would ſurely ceaſe "to give your conſent to laws," when you withdraw your voice, that is your repreſentative, from the legiſlative aſſembly. If then, no other objection prevailed; if his ſituation and ſentiments were perfectly independent and incorrupt; if in ſhort, inſtead of the preſent exiſtence of things, every circumſtance united in his favour; this ſingle objection of abſence is invincibly deciſive againſt his claims.

A vague obſervation is ſometimes advanced, that though abſent from the Iriſh Houſe, it is good to have a repreſentative in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons; where his ſervices may compenſate for his Iriſh omiſſions. This is hardly the ſhadow of argument. But as even ſhadows may alarm, it may be worth while to diſpel it. In the firſt place, I beg the blunder may be rectified. Let him be called any thing but

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an *Iriſh repreſentative* in an *Engliſh Houſe of Commons*. And as to his ſervices there, and the inference drawn from them, they are overturned both by fact and argument. Firſt, what ſervices, eſſential important ſervices, have been performed for Ireland, by any of theſe Iriſh-Engliſh repreſentatives? None; that they ſhould not bluſh to mention: becauſe ſo trifling, and ſo inferiour. But I ſhall hereafter, perhaps, preſs more particularly on this topick.---Next, if they had done real ſervice to Ireland; would they not have done it,---ought they not to have done it,---without inſulting us with this mock-repreſentation!---It is an extraordinary claim to our favour, to tell us that nothing ſhall induce our candidate to ſerve us, but a ſurrender of our moſt valuable privileges.

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 13th, 1776.

LET-

LETTER IV.

It is essential to the very being of Parliament, that Elections should be absolutely free. BLACKSTONE.

For thus to regulate Candidates and Electors, and new-model the ways of Election; what is it, but to cut up the Government by the roots, and poison the very fountain of Publick Security? LOCKE.

LET me again, and again, urge to you the motto of my third Letter. "*No Lord of Parliament* hath any right to interfere in the election of *Commoners*." This is the law of the land. Remember it, my countrymen! revere it; maintain it. It is the grand barrier of the constitution. While it stands firm, you remain safely and invincibly entrenched in your own privileges. But if ever you surrender it to the enemy, you are irretrievably ruined. The democratick estate will be annihilated out of the constitution, and you will be melted down into a vile vassalage; the devoted prey and plunder of your despotick conquerors.

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I am the more warmly incenſed to theſe remonſtrances, and I doubt not but you will catch the flame, from a flagrant inſult which I have SEEN offered to your rights; a direct violation of your moſt valuable privilege. I have read a letter from the Earl of Hertford, who, you know, is a PEER in both countries, written with his own hand and ſubſcribed with his title, "*begging the vote and intereſt* of a freeholder, "*for his ſon Henry, at the next General Election.*" This I have ſeen; and this I will prove in proper time and place, if the fatal ſucceſs of any unconſtitutional conſpiracy ſhall make it neceſſary for the independent freeholders to appeal to an independent tribunal. In the mean time, I ſubmit the fact to your juſt indignation.

The claims of Mr. Conway were perhaps more than ſufficiently refuted, in my laſt Letter. I cannot, however, forbear a ſhort comment on his advertiſement.---It is really an unique; and I hope will juſtify any tautology I may commit.

" My brother, Lord Beauchamp, being " detained by buſineſs in England, does not

" preſume again to offer his ſervices," &c.--- *Detention in England,* it ſeems is an inſurmountable objection againſt the *offer* of *ſervice* to a county in Ireland. I heartily concur with the honourable gentleman. It is an inſuperable obſtacle. Why then does *he,* detained as he knows he muſt be in England,---why does he " preſume" to offer ſervices which he cannot give; and to ſolicit truſt which he cannot execute? But, " Lord Beauchamp will not *again* offer his ſervices." Does Mr. Conway inſinuate, that his brother *ever* gave us his ſervices? If ſo, we have reaſon to thank him for his candid confeſſion of his principles. According to him, the country will be excellently ſerved, by the abſence of its ſervants: and the duty of parliament completely attended to, by being totally neglected.

The Hon. Mr. Hugh Skeffington next preſents himſelf to our conſideration. It is obvious that much of what has been ſaid, and proved, againſt the unconſtitutional interference of Peers in our elections, will apply as deciſively againſt this gentleman, as Mr. Conway; or, if poſſible, more ſo.

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The immediate preſence of the noble Peer, who takes his title from your county, may have more immediate effect;---unleſs, my countrymen, we ſteadily purſue the conduct, preſcribed to us by every conſideration that can actuate freemen. Our duty as freeholders, inculcates the neceſſity of repelling theſe lordly encroachments on our privileges; even when they threaten from afar. But we are bound to the moſt active vigilance, when the danger aſſails our doors; when the miſchief is actually amongſt us. Let every heart conſent to abhor it: let every hand concur to caſt it forth. Let us think as becomes rational beings, that liberty is the moſt tranſcendent bleſſing:---Let us act like men of virtue, and preſerve it:

" O! let it never periſh in your hands,
" But piouſly tranſmit it to your children."

I ſhall, in my next Letter, conſider the other grounds of Mr. Skeffington's public pretenſions.

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 17th, 1776.

LETTER V.

The great advantage of repreſentatives, is their capacity of diſcuſſing Public Affairs. MONTESQUIEU.

THE neceſſity of repreſentation in parliament, ariſes from the impoſſibility of aſſembling there collectively. Or, though this collective aſſemblage were poſſible, yet might we for convenience, prefer the mode of acting by repreſentatives. For a great advantage accrues, from "their capacity of diſcuſſing publick affairs."

Let us examine in what this capacity conſiſts. Two qualifications are neceſſary to form it; publick integrity, and publick ability. By publick integrity I mean, a temper of mind ſuperiour to all private views whatever; which equally ſpurns the allurements of corruption, the mandates of power, and the influence of connections; ſteadily and ſolely intent on one great object, the Publick Weal. Publick ability, implies

implies the faculty of attaining this object. An enlarged mind, to comprehend the publick buſineſs, an enlightened underſtanding to agitate and diſcuſs it; and an undaunted ſpirit, to carry it into execution; are all involved in this extenſive term. It is, indeed, a quality of the higheſt nature and uſe. And, ſtanding on the foundation of publick integrity, conſtitutes that moſt glorious character, the capacity of repreſenting a free people.

In comparing Mr. Skeffington's publick pretenſions with theſe various requiſites, I really find myſelf embarraſſed. For, even in this publick diſcuſſion, ſeverity ſhould if poſſible be avoided. I ſhall argue, therefore, only negatively; leaving to your judgments, and your knowledge, to ſupply what delicacy ſuppreſſes.

To communicate to you, therefore, what I have *not* diſcovered; I am ſorry to confeſs, that my ſtricteſt inquiry into this gentleman's publick capacity, hath not been able to trace any one of the qualifications which I have enumerated. It is, therefore, a matter of ſome ſurprize to *his friends*, that he ſhould

ſhould refer us, in the firſt paragraph of his publick addreſs, to "the honour formerly conferred on him, in being choſen our repreſentative." For, they argue, that he never was really in that capacity. The component parts were totally wanting. How then could the compound ſubſiſt? A reference, therefore, to that miſtaken æra, ſerves only to warn us againſt a ſecond errour. Eſpecially an errour of ſuch fatal importance. If he had never been in that ſituation; we might have thought it poſſible, that he ſhould at leaſt *ſeem* to fill it. But unfortunately for his preſent pretenſions, experience confirms the dictate of our judgment; and realizes the beautiful alluſion of Lord Bolingbroke, "that a little ſtatue placed on a mighty pedeſtal, looks leſs,---dwindles into nothing---from its elevation."

It is obvious that I ſtudy to ſpeak gently of this gentleman. Content with this negative argument againſt his ſufficiency, I do not alledge poſitive charges of betraying truſt. I do not refer to venal majorities, black liſts, and the obedient *aye* or *no*,---the utmoſt eloquence "and ſervice," of ſome repreſentatives:

ſentatives: I ſpeak not of uniform devotion to the court, and to courtly connections; I only ſubmit to my countrymen that, independent of ſuch poſitive guilt, their duty as freeholders obliges them to reject a candidate, who is obviouſly and totally deſtitute of all the requiſite qualifications.

Permit me, in ſome meaſure to atone to my own feelings, for the diſagreeable neceſſity of theſe publick truths, by a juſt tribute to the private character of this gentleman. As far as my knowledge of it reaches, I gladly bear teſtimony to its being amiable, good-humoured, and friendly. Nay, there is a ſpecies of delicacy in it, which reflects ſome honour on him as a man; accompanied, alas! with an infirmity of mind that diſgraces him as a ſenator. For I have good authority to ſay, that he laments the ſervitude of his ſituation. We all know, too well, that he cannot ſhake it off. He has ſenſibility to feel the chain; without the ſpirit, the enterprize of mind, that ſhould caſt it away, and dare to be free.

Reflect

Reflect now, my countrymen!---Nothing can be wanting to your free exertion of your privileges, and vindication of your rights, on this great occasion; if you give it deep and due attention. You will then be convinced that your grandest happiness, the true *summum bonum*, which the ancients puzzled for in vain, your LIBERTY is at stake. Founded, as it is, in every virtue; you will confess it paramount to every blessing: For,

" Wanting virtue, life is pain and woe;
" But, wanting Liberty, even virtue mourns,
" And looks around for happiness in vain."

To point out the path that leads to this glorious object, shall be the more pleasing business of my succeeding Letters.---Long enough have our eyes ached over this barren prospect; where no verdure of virtue quickens,---no publick service is seen to blossom. We will with pleasure turn our view, and our choice, to a more fertile soil, pregnant with the richest seeds: which wait only for the cultivation of

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our favour, to ripen into the happieſt harveſt.

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 24th, 1776.

LETTER VI.

He hath no employment under the crown; nor is likely to get or ſolicit for any;—He hath hitherto been above temptation to act wrong; and, therefore is the moſt likely to act right, as a Repreſentative.

SWIFT.

To whom, my countrymen! doth this glorious deſcription apply? *To whom* would the immortal writer himſelf have given it?---who ſtudied, underſtood, and promoted the intereſts of this country, more perhaps than any patriot ſhe ever enjoyed! Moſt aſſuredly

redly *not* to the devoted connections of families, uniformly and universally enslaved to court-corruptions, and gaping for "court-employments." But as if the reverend champion of our liberties had foreseen the contest of this day, he almost expressly describes to your choice, your present CONSTITUTIONAL CANDIDATE; JAMES WILLSON, Esq.

"*He* hath no employment under the crown; nor is likely to get or solicit for any:" for, his own voluntary virtue hath precluded him from the possibility. "He hath hitherto been above temptation to act wrong:" Not only years of genuine and applauded service, with the constant exertions of uncorrupt abilities, conspire to prove it; but let us, with admiration, reflect on the immediate effort of virtue, which gives him to our choice: It is not only "a superiority to the temptation of acting wrong," but a *refinement in acting right;* unparalleled, I will be bold to say, in election annals. He hath "entirely rejected a seat in Parliament for a borough in another county,"---offered to him by a gentleman and

and a friend; devoting himſelf ſolely to your ſervice, in the pureſt ſpirit of liberty; while there is a man among you, who will co-operate with him to reſtore it.

However ambitious of a ſeat in parliament, he is more ambitious of the moſt honourable means of obtaining it. And let me repeat, with an unexampled virtue refuſes the ſmooth and certain acquiſition of it, through a private medium; truſting,---*nec vana fides!*---that his publick exertions againſt the grand conſpiracy, may contribute to reſcue the liberties of his country.

This is a fact, which it is good to conſider. Conſidering, we muſt admire. Admiring, we ſhall learn to imitate, and unite to reward it. For, let us reflect, my countrymen! it eſtabliſhes a claim on our juſtice, as well as our honour. Poſſeſſed of ſo valuable a certainty, and ſo coveted a rank,---the object of ambition to all, and the means of emolument to moſt; he reſigns it. Why is this ſacrifice? conſidered as a thing of intereſt, the honeſty of his mind ſpurned it. ---But, in its fairer light, as a rank of the moſt

moſt honourable elevation, why did he tear himſelf from the poſſeſſion of his darling object? Evidently, for the ſtill nobler and purer purpoſe of vindicating, at leaſt in this ſphere of action, the liberties of his country; and of reſtoring to you, the freeholders of the county of Antrim, your moſt important and tranſcendent privilege, Freedom of Election.---Not to ſee this, were more than blindneſs. Not to reward it, were worſe than ingratitude.

But we will not admit, even for a moment, ſuch unworthy ſuſpicions. We turn our eyes with pleaſure, to the more becoming, and proſperous ſtate of virtue amongſt us. For it is with the ſincereſt joy, I congratulate my countrymen, on the encreaſing vigour of our juſt and generous ſpirit of independency. What thanks do we not owe, ---what ſupport ſhall we not give, to THE MAN who hath rouzed this ſlumbering ſpirit, and called it into action?---devoting himſelf to fall, or to conquer, with it:---and who hath ſacrificed to it, the very advantages, which other men make the primary object of their wiſhes!

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He who hath acted so eminently right as a candidate, is surely "most likely," in the words of my great authority, "to act right as a representative." It is therefore our indispensable duty to him, to ourselves, and to our country, to elect him to that sacred situation.——These truths are pressed on my countrymen, not from any doubt of their spirit, or their virtue, on this great crisis. But as it was well said by an eminent politician, "that the British constitution was *the business* of every Briton,"---which I hope, at least equally applies to Ireland;---I therefore take the liberty of submitting to *my partners* in this great *business*, the plain maxims of *honour and honesty*, which must make every business thrive and flourish.

I shall, in my next, trouble you with a few comments on some constitutional points, which occur in Mr. Willson's publick addresses; and which deserve our most serious consideration.

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 29th, 1776.

LET-

LETTER VII.

The integrity of parliament is a kind of palladium, a tutelary goddeſs, who protects our ſtate. When ſhe is once removed, we may become the prey of any enemies. BOLINGBROKE.

IN Mr. Willſon's addreſs to you, two points ſtand remarkably conſpicuous; the independent teſt which he propoſes to take on the day of election; and the plan which he ſuggeſts, to collect the ſenſe of his conſtituents, for the regulation of his parliamentary conduct. Theſe are eminent features; and demand the niceſt attention of the political phyſiognomiſt: who wiſhes to trace the true lines of liberty, and to aſcertain the genuine ſon of the conſtitution.

Parliamentary teſts were always proper. Even in the purer days of ancient liberty, it was not unwiſe to *enſure*, by additional obligations, the faithfulneſs of the ſervant. It could never be thought unreaſonable, or ungenerous,

ungenerous, to require from the agent, at leaſt a promiſe that he would act faithfully for his employer. But what was right and reaſonable in the moſt virtuous days, modern degeneracy hath made abſolutely neceſſary. For it is notorious, that not only the *ſubſtance* of patriotiſm is melting away, but its very name and memory are falling into obloquy and contempt. This noble quality, the ſublimeſt of moral virtues, as it approaches to the ſacred nature of religion herſelf, ſo muſt it expect to ſhare her abuſe, and ſuffer her misfortune. Hypocrites are daily detected, who do not bluſh to proſtitute the ſacred character of both. * Miſcreants are daily heard, who deny the exiſtence of either; and who do not tremble to vilify and betray their God and their country. In this ſhameleſs ſtate of public profligacy, it is neceſſary to adopt every caution, to impoſe every ſanction, to inſiſt on every poſſible ſecurity, for the fidelity of the repreſentative. The honeſt candidate for any truſt, will never object, will rather

* *Meſcreant*, or *Meſcroiant*, Fr. an unbeliever; a holder of a falſe faith.

rather anxiouſly deſire, to undertake in the moſt ſolemn manner, for the honeſt execution of it. For ſuch an undertaking only anticipates, in a proſpect pleaſing to the mind, the courſe of its own integrity. The virtuous man's promiſe, is a draught on the bank of truth. He makes it with confidence; for he knows it will be paid with honour. Thoſe only heſitate to offer the ſame fund as a ſecurity, who are conſcious they have no correſpondence with it.

The *ſentiment* of Mr. Willſon's propoſed teſt, was adverted to in my laſt Letter. You there find it ſanctified by the higheſt authority this country can boaſt, the ever-memorable Dean of St. Patrick's: who makes it the ſtrongeſt recommendatory argument throughout his whole Paper; "Advice to the freemen of Dublin, *in the choice of a repreſentative:*" a title, and ſubject, preciſely appoſite to our preſent purpoſe!

The point which next claims our attention, is the method propoſed for collecting our ſentiments, which Mr. Willſon ſolemnly aſſures us, "ſhall regulate his parliamentary conduct." As to the *mode*, I do not preſume

ſume on its ſufficiency. But it ſeems ingeniouſly imagined, and is certainly moſt honeſtly ſubmitted. And this is obvious; that if any plan, more effectual, can be deviſed by the wiſdom of the county, the ſame principle which binds him to your ſentiments, will gladly adopt it.

This *principle* of "obligation to the ſentiments of conſtituents," now deſerves our peculiar conſideration and applauſe, when the modern arts of refiners in politicks, are attempting to fritter it away. It is become the faſhionable boaſt of our mock-repreſentatives, that they owe no ſort of duty or obedience to the people. "My conſti-"tuents!" ſays a courtly member of parliament; "what are they? a wretched rab-"ble; ignorant and impudent, to preſume "to lay their commands on *me:*—A vulgar "herd; not fit to converſe with, much leſs "to dictate to, *Gentlemen ſo much their ſu-"periours.* No: I dine to-day with my "Lord, and to-morrow with his Excellen-"cy, and *there* I ſhall receive my inſtruc-"tions." — And there, if you pleaſe let us leave him; for I am ſure he is not *fit for us.*

We ſhall at leaſt enjoy Swift's ſatisfaction; who comforted himſelf very pleaſantly and very wiſely too, when *great men* affected airs of haughtineſs: "Aye," ſays he; "if they "make *me* keep *my* diſtance, I make *them* "keep *theirs*."

When difficulties occurred in the councils of Spain, the ſtateſmen uſed to ſay, the genius of old Philip the ſecond ſhould be conſulted. Happy for us, my countrymen! that we have a wiſer guide to direct us in any conſtitutional inquiry—the genius of our free conſtitution. Let us conſult this infallible oracle, on the queſtion before us. And the awful voice ſhall anſwer in hallowed ſounds:—"Government was conſti-"tuted in theſe free iſlands by the people, "for the benefit of the people. To effec-"tuate this ſacred purpoſe, it was eſtabliſhed "as a fundamental maxim, 'that no man "ſhould be governed by laws, made againſt "his conſent.' This, it was impoſſible for "all the individuals collectively to give. "A ſelect number, therefore, muſt be "FREELY CHOSEN; who ſhall collect the "general ſentiments, and ſpeak the general "voice;

" voice; for the benefit of All, with the " conſent of All. And they ſhall be called " *repreſentatives* of the people; becauſe " they are deputed *by* them to act *for* them, " as if themſelves were *preſent.*—*Such re-* " *preſentatives therefore can act only as the* " *creating power enjoins:* or they tranſgreſs " their nature, and loſe their name.

" It is too certain that this beautiful ſyſ- " tem will be deformed by human frailty. " Overweening pride will ſometimes ſwell " *above* the voice of the elector; and too " often will ſordid intereſt ſeduce, *contrary* " to the call of the conſtituent. But theſe " are treaſons to the conſtitution. *And he,* " *and he only, is her loyal ſon; who devotes* " *himſelf totally to her intereſts, and to the* " *commands of the people.*"---" Nor let the " arrogance of modern pride object to ſuch " obedience, as impoſing illiberal fetters on " repreſentatives, and enſlaving them to the " vulgar. Let them learn, that to enjoy " legal liberty, they muſt ſubmit to legal " reſtraint. Let them know, that a real " repreſentative, acting *for* and *with* the " people; enjoys a ſituation the moſt liberal

" and exalted, of which humanity is capa-
" ble." For, let them be taught, Their country is a maſter, *whoſe ſervice is perfect freedom.*

A FREEHOLDER.

March 14th, 1776.

LETTER VIII.

Tell me not of your engagements and promiſes to another. Your promiſes were ſins of inconſideration, at beſt; and you are bound to repent and annul them. SWIFT.

WE have examined the leading features of Mr. Willſon's claim; and we find them ſtrictly conſtitutional. Theſe were certainly more than ſufficient to eſtabliſh his pretenſions in an infinite preference to thoſe of his competitors. But it is a juſtice due to ſuch ſingular merit, to give it ſingular and particular

particular attention. For the more we analyze the ſubject, the more we ſhall admire its ſymmetry and perfection. *He reſides amongſt us.* An indiſpenſable qualification: for ſurely the reſidence of a repreſentative in another country, is the groſſeſt mockery of the conſtituent. *Jurors* are, by law, ſummoned *from the neighbourhood:* and ſhall it be endured, that the infinitely higher truſt of repreſentation, whoſe very name implies the *preſence* of the agent, ſhall be burleſqued, annihilated?—not only turned out *of the neighbourhood*, but baniſhed from the kingdom! Law, decency, common ſenſe, and common juſtice forbid it.—*He builds his expectations only on the free ſupport of the people.* A truly conſtitutional foundation; which will not fail him; while we have underſtanding to value, and ſpirit to defend, our freeholds, our privileges, and our liberties.—*Slave to no court-connection, nor family-influence*, "he hath no employment under the crown, nor is likely to get or ſolicit for any." A moſt powerful recommendation to your preference: for, *ſuch men*, the ſame great authority whom I have quoted,

aſſures

aſſures you, "are already engaged againſt you."—Happily gifted by nature, liberally cultivated by education, independent in ſpirit, and incorrupt in principle; he poſſeſſes that rare union of admirable qualities, which fully conſtitute "*the capacity*" *of repreſenting a great and a free people.*

So peculiarly qualified, ſo unanſwerably recommended by his intrinſick merit, it may be wondered that ſuch repeated arguments are uſed to urge it;—for it would ſeem unneceſſary to inculcate and re-recommend to your choice, the man who is in himſelf ſo evidently and infinitely preferable! Certainly, my friends, it were ſuperfluous; if you be conſcious of your ſituation;—if you know, that your voice on this ſacred ſubject, is and muſt be free; even up to the moment of election:—that no power on earth hath a right to anticipate or direct it:—that you yourſelves cannot engage it; and that if an unwary word or promiſe have eſcaped you, it hath no force whatever; "it is a ſin of inconſideration, and you are bound to repent and annul it."

This

This is indiſputably true. But as it is a point not ſufficiently underſtood, permit me to add a few words upon it.

My poſition is, that promiſes, raſhly and indiſcreetly given, the performance of which violates the higheſt duties, and tends to the deepeſt miſchiefs, impoſe not the leaſt obligation on the giver:—unleſs it be an obligation, to "repent and annul them."—The concurring authorities of the wiſeſt writers and moſt virtuous men, were ſufficient to prove the point, *ad vericundiam*, as logicians ſay, if it did not carry conviction in itſelf. Without recurring, therefore, to the expreſs approbation of it by Cicero or Seneca, by Lord Bacon, or the reverend name at the head of my paper; let us ſimply conſider the nature of a promiſe.

A promiſe is a voluntary declaration of a ſettled intention; and always implies ſome real benefit to be conferred on the perſon to whom it is made. If any of theſe ingredients be wanting, there is no promiſe; and therefore no obligation. For inſtance: if involuntarily I am forced to make a declaration to another, it does not bind *me;* for

it

it is not mine: I am not bound to conform to words, which a ruffian's piſtol at my breaſt, forces from my mouth; for they are *his* words; and come to me only through the medium of his piſtol; which, I preſume, does not ſanctify them. Again: the intention muſt be ſettled and rational. For, if I *ſuddenly* throw out *abſurd* declarations, it is my duty to myſelf, as a rational being, to rectify them. The wild guſts of madneſs or intoxication, or the heedleſs folly of thoughtleſs precipitance, inſtitute no claim on our ſobered mind. Reaſon will reſume her office, and vindicate her right to the fortreſs, which paſſion or weakneſs had taken by ſurprize. Laſtly, ſome real benefit is to be conferred; or the obligation ceaſes. If I have undertaken to a man in a fever, to feed his thirſt with ſpirituous liquors; am I, therefore, obliged to murder the delirious wretch?

Let us apply theſe obſervations to the *promiſes*, as they are called, of votes at elections. Are they always *entirely voluntary?* Are they always ſettled, well-weighed intentions?—founded on a thorough diſcuſſion of the

the merits of the candidates, and a conviction that no worthier can poſſibly ariſe? Do they always confer real, genuine advantage, on all candidates who ſolicit them? Or do they not *ſometimes* feed the fever of corruption; and, in the general calamity of the conſtitution, deſtroy the very men, whoſe intemperate delirium ſo *greedily* quaffs the poiſon?

Remember, alſo, my friends! that in the moment of election, you ſtand forth the immediate guardians of your country. Your ſacred duty to her, our univerſal parent, is a free, unbiaſſed, *diſengaged* exertion of your right of ſuffrage. To her you owe an original, unalienable, eternal duty. *You are therefore abſolutely, and unconditionally, free.*—Except in the ſenſe, in which omnipotence itſelf is limited—by wiſdom and juſtice.

Act only as thoſe guides direct, and fulfil your duty to your country and your poſterity.

A FREEHOLDER.

March 9th, 1776.

LET-

LETTER IX.

Hail, Independence, hail! Heaven's next beſt gift
To that of life, and an immortal ſoul.
The life of life! which to the banquet high
And ſober meal gives taſte; to the bow'd roof
Fair-dream'd repoſe, and to the cottage charms.

THOMSON.

A Great and a wiſe king of Macedon ordered his attendants daily to repeat to him this ſalutary memento; "Philip, thou art a man." He knew the frailty of his nature; and thought it expedient to guard againſt its errors, by being thus conſtantly reminded into the duties of humanity. Let us not bluſh to imitate ſo reſpectable an example. Let us rather triumph in ſurpaſſing it; and daily, and hourly, inculcate to each other, the ſuperiour dignity and duty of *our* ſituation:—*Friends!* YE ARE FREEMEN.

It was beautifully ſaid by the Roman orator and philoſopher, "Virtue is in herſelf ſo lovely,

lovely, that to be loved, ſhe needs only to be ſeen." Her native, genuine charms, he repreſents as irreſiſtible; and which could not fail of univerſal adoration, only if men would open their eyes and behold her. Such alſo, is the intrinſick beauty of liberty; rivalling, as ſhe does, or perhaps even ſurpaſſing in lovelineſs, her lovely ſiſter. For Liberty is the *refinement* of Virtue. The ſtrong point of preference has been before obſerved; that as virtue is eſſential to the true happineſs of life, ſo liberty is neceſſary to the happineſs of virtue. And the reaſon is convincing. For liberty is founded in, and reſults from, all the good and great qualities united. Her nature muſt therefore be ſuperlatively noble; and, to recur to Cicero's alluſion, the poſſeſſion of her charms muſt be the higheſt happineſs.

I hope it is unneceſſary here to diſclaim the exceſs, or the abuſe of this glorious principle. RATIONAL, LEGAL LIBERTY, AND ONLY THAT, IS INTENDED TO BE PRAISED; WHICH DIFFERS AS ESSENTIALLY FROM THE RUDE RIOT OF LICENTIOUSNESS, AS WISDOM IS DISTINCT FROM MADNESS, OR AS REASON

EXCELS

EXCELS BRUTALITY. The admirable Milton has well diſtinguiſhed, where he inveighs againſt the hypocrites of this virtue in the extreme. As the paſſage well expoſes the falſe pretenſions to it, and in the ſame proportion extols the truth, permit me to cloſe theſe obſervations with it.

" They bawl for freedom in their ſenſeleſs
" mood,
" Yet quarrel with the hand that makes
" them free:
" Licenſe they mean, when they cry Liberty;
" For, *who loves that, muſt firſt be wiſe and good.*"

That genuine liberty, in its true temperate perfection, is the ſcope of our happy conſtitution;—that Parliaments, fairly repreſenting the people, are the only effectual guardians of this ineſtimable object;—that publick integrity and publick ability are neceſſary to execute the truſt of repreſentation;—and above all, that abſolute freedom of election is neceſſary to its very being;—that, therefore, abſentees from the country, nominees of Lords, and devoted to lordly influence

influence and court-corruptions, are unconſtitutional candidates:—are the leading points, which have been ſubmitted to you in theſe Letters. I will not inſult your underſtanding, or your honeſty, ſo far as to doubt that theſe poſitions required my feeble aid to prove them. They are ſelf-evident truths; and, to be admitted, need only to be ſeen. Let me then only claim the humble mechanical merit of having diſplayed them to your view:—your own ſympathies of virtue have the praiſe of inſtantly feeling their full force; and, in effect, giving them due attention.

Agreeing thus in the nature of theſe grand principles, a very important conſideration remains for us, as to the mode of giving them due and effective operation. And I beg the particular attention of my countrymen to one very material and eſſential point.

Three candidates now ſolicit our ſuffrages. Two of them we ſee are proſcribed, by every conſtitutional conſideration. The third, we with pleaſure adopt, as recommended to our choice in the ſame powerful proportion.

portion. The friends, therefore, of independence, and of their country, will certainly give their ſupport to Mr. Willſon.—But, *let them remember* that the only method to do ſo *effectually*, is to withhold all poſſible aſſiſtance from the others, his unconſtitutional antagoniſts. The danger is, that well-meaning electors might collaterally and unintentionally deſtroy the effect of their firſt ſuffrage, and their honeſt wiſhes. For inſtance; a voter thoroughly conſcious, as he muſt be, of the infinite preference of Mr. Willſon's claims, reſolves to vote for him. He does ſo; and ſo far fulfils his duty to his country.—But, he has a ſecond vote to give? And for this he is ſolicited by acquaintances, by friends, by landlords, &c. &c.—in favour of one of our *honourable* candidates.—"Well," thinks he, "I have "given one vote to ſatisfy my conſcience;—"why ſhould I not give the other to ſatisfy a "friend?—I wiſh Mr. Willſon ſucceſs with "all my heart; and I gave him *my firſt* "*vote*; but as I have a ſecond, I muſt give "it:—ſo you ſhall have it, Sir."—But the misfortune is, that this ſecond vote weighs

juſt

juſt as heavy as the firſt; and thrown into the oppoſite ſcale of the adverſary, totally annihilates the intended friendly effect of the preference given. So that at beſt it reduces the voter to a ſtate of non-entity. But it may, it muſt, be worſe. He will become the inſtrument of the miſchief his heart abhors. For if the independent wiſh be thus fruſtrated by the annihilation of the independent vote, the confederated enemy muſt prevail. *Their* coalition and mutual ſupport are certain; and are the very grievance we complained of. We do not now inquire whether the *trained bands*, who march in ſupport of this lordly league, be allies or mercenaries in the cauſe. But of this we may be ſure; that they will march to an inglorious victory over their country, unleſs her independent ſons firmly and effectually unite in her defence.

I hope it is obvious, that the only method of doing ſo, is to reſolve either on giving a ſingle vote to Mr. Willſon, or to ſelect another gentleman of conſtitutional principles and independent ſpirit, on whom to beſtow our ſecond voice. Let us be deeply impreſſed

preſſed with the neceſſity of confining our ſupport to conſtitutional merit.—Let us anxiouſly remember, that the duty of a freeholder as powerfully precludes him from voting for an unworthy candidate, as it urges him to the choice of a proper one.

I ſhall trouble you with perhaps only another letter; in which I propoſe to ſubmit to your conſideration a few hints relative to the *teſt*, by which we are to try our candidates.

A FREEHOLDER.

March 13th, 1776.

LETTER X.

A Patriot is always ready to countenance the juſt claims, and animate the reaſonable hopes, of the People. He reminds them frequently of their rights; *and ſtimulates them to reſent* encroachments, *and to* MULTIPLY SECURITIES.

JOHNSON.

THE latter branch of this patriotick duty is the only one which remains for our attention. My countrymen and fellow-freeholders are ſufficiently apprized of their *rights;* and, convinced that abſolute freedom of election is the eſſence of them all, they reſent and will repel all attempted encroachments on it. Confiding, therefore, in your virtue to value your liberties, and your ſpirit to ſupport them, permit me to appeal to your underſtanding, for the moſt effectual method to multiply ſecurities in their defence.

In all negociations where truſt is repoſed, the leading and principal ſecurity is *the*

character of the perſon truſted. This is diſcovered, either by reference to his conduct in ſimilar ſituations, or by a nice ſcrutiny into his principles, whether they be ſuch as juſtify a future confidence: and inaſmuch as experience is ſuperiour to experiment, the former ground of confidence is more certain. But if both unite in his favour, we gladly receive him into ours; and confer that confidence which his tried integrity has earned, and his honourable principles deſerve: and theſe conſpiring proofs of *character* form no mean ſecurity to thoſe, who feel in their own breaſts the force of virtue, and entertain a ſympathy of honour.

But as human imperfection for ever forbids an abſolute certainty in human virtue, and as the ſolicitude for an object ſhould ever be in proportion to its importance, it is our duty anxiouſly to aſcertain, as far as is poſſible, the preſent merits and future virtue of our candidates for the truſt of repreſentation; to multiply ſecurities, and "to make aſſurance double ſure."

One of the gentlemen who ſubmit themſelves to our choice, more than meets us in this

this idea. With the prompt alacrity of publick virtue, he ſteps forward; and by the propoſal of a ſolemn previous engagement, for the aſcertainment of his future conduct, he anticipates our wiſhes; and gives, before we aſk, the additional multiplied ſecurity. This meaſure has been diſcuſſed in a former Letter; and its propriety eſtabliſhed, as far as relates to parliamentary conduct, to enſure the virtue of repreſentatives: let us now examine whether it be not equally expedient in a preliminary point of view, to diſcover the principles and diſcriminate the merits of candidates.

The name, by which this meaſure is generally known, leads us to its nature and its uſe. It is called a TEST;—a criterion;—a touchſtone; by which we may know, before we approve; and try, before we truſt. When a candidate propoſes his ſervices to electors, it ſurely is not very unnatural nor unwiſe in them to examine into his principles, to ſettle the import of the covenant between them, and to aſcertain the ſervices he is to perform. Without a precaution of this ſort, an inlet is given to the moſt pre-

poſterous and abſurd confuſion. A gentleman may be ſent to parliament, poſſeſſing perhaps the beſt intentions in the world; for, to ſtate the argument in the faireſt manner, we will ſuppoſe him at leaſt ethically right. But unfortunately theſe intentions and ſentiments are not the intentions and ſentiments of his conſtituents. They think and wiſh, in a manner diametrically oppoſite to the man whom they have choſen to expreſs their thoughts, and effect their wiſhes: and the moſt ridiculous contradiction enſues; their agent acts againſt them,—their repreſentative miſrepreſents them.

It is obvious that this confuſion, contradiction, and miſchief might be deciſively prevented, by a full and conſtitutional teſt: a teſt which might ſufficiently diſcriminate the publick principles of candidates; and, in conſequence, eſtabliſh an additional ſecurity of their virtue as repreſentatives.

When I ſpeak of a full and conſtitutional teſt, you perceive that I mean one more comprehenſive, and more effectual for the above-mentioned purpoſes, than that which has been propoſed to your approbation by

Mr.

Mr. Willſon. As far as his goes, it is excellent in its ſanction; and, in the fulleſt degree, diſintereſted in principle: and for him in particular, the freeholders to whom he ſubmits it, would certainly think it ſuperfluous to inſert additional matter. But I conceive it will be found inſufficient to cover the general extent of this great queſtion; or to ſecure the particular purpoſes, which it certainly is his and every freeman's wiſh to promote. Effectually to do ſo, it will be neceſſary to enter more into the detail; to ſpecify ſome leading particular points to the candidate,—ſome indiſpenſable articles of political faith, to which he muſt conform, before we admit him to our political communion; or at leaſt, before we confer on him its honours and dignities.

A FREEHOLDER.

March 29th, 1776.

LETTER

LETTER XI.

Reſolved, That the engagement now read, be demanded on the part of the Livery of London, to be ſigned by every candidate who ſhall be put in nomination to repreſent this city in the enſuing Parliament.

ELECTORS OF LONDON, IN GUILDHALL ASSEMBLED, *Oct. 3d*, 1774.

I Have not preſumed to ſubmit, much leſs to urge to you, any opinions which are not ſanctified by the greateſt authorities. The principles of the conſtitution, as they have been deſcribed in theſe Letters, are inculcated by the greateſt writers. The mode of giving them effect, we ſee, at the head of my paper, eſtabliſhed by the wiſeſt practice.

The city of London hath ever ſtood foremoſt in the cauſe of freedom. From the days of Magna Charta, when her Mayor was the firſt to fix that glorious land-mark of our liberties; to eſtabliſh on a rock the original

original rights of the people; to controul, with a patriot-hand, the tyranny of kings; and for ever to teach them this awful truth, that as the foundation of their throne is laid in the conſent and for the benefit, ſo its ſecurity can only be found in the affection, of their ſubjects:—from that memorable period of triumphant patriotiſm to the preſent hour, alas not equally triumphant!—in the various courſe of the moſt trying and important ſituations, hiſtory conſpires to prove, what is evident, excluſive of hiſtory, —that the city of London is juſtly raiſed to her preſent imperial ſummit by the virtues, as well as the valour, of her citizens;—that ſhe is not more eminent for wealth than for wiſdom, not more renowned for power than for juſtice,—deſervedly the metropolis of extended empire, becauſe confeſſedly the centre of eſtabliſhed liberty.

Inſpired by ſuch an example, ſhall we not imitate its wiſdom, and partake its ſucceſs? Flowing from ſuch a ſacred ſource, ſhall we not revere the hallowed ſtreams; and with a pious zeal purify them from the venal filth and rubbiſh, with which the ſacri-

legious invaders endeavour to pollute and pervert them?

To effect this ſalutary purpoſe, and reſtore the conſtitution to its original purity, it ſeemed good to the great authority which I have quoted, to propoſe to their candidates a certain ſolemn engagement, ſpecifying to them many important conſtitutional meaſures, the ſignature and adoption of which ſhould be an indiſpenſable preliminary to their election. And the efficacy of the meaſure has been amply approved in the virtue of their repreſentatives. The electors of that great city are really repreſented; and have, as all electors ought to have, a voice in legiſlation. They are not mocked with an abſent repreſentative, nor inſulted with a wooden one. No Lords interfere to rob them of their rights, by the nomination of one, whoſe abſence precludes him from the poſſibility of acting for them, though his connections ſhould give him leave; or by the impoſition of another, whoſe ſervile ſituation for ever diſqualifies him, even if his natural diſabilities were removed. They are neither cheated nor intimidated out of their

their privileges: but, ſtanding on the firm ground of election-independence, they ſend their choſen delegates, tried by the teſt, and approved by their judgment, to repreſent them in parliament, honourably, obediently, faithfully, and effectually; exhibiting to theſe kingdoms an eminent example of the good policy of virtue; the general adoption of which muſt, in the words of their noble ſtateſman and orator, "fix us ſecurely on the ſummits of freedom and proſperity."

Permit me now to offer to your candid and ſerious judgment, for your approbation, improvement, or alteration, or whatever may ſeem good to you, the following ſketch of a teſt for our candidates; as containing the grand deſiderata of our conſtitution.

"I *A. B.* do moſt ſolemnly promiſe and engage myſelf to my conſtituents, if I ſhall have the honour of being choſen to repreſent this county in parliament, that I will endeavour to the utmoſt of my power, to promote and procure, and having procured, to maintain and continue, acts of the legiſlature,

"For

" For eſtabliſhing a more fair and equal repreſentation of the people in parliament.

" For vindicating all the legal rights of the people; eſpecially their grand privilege, abſolute freedom of election.

" For ſubjecting each candidate for a ſeat in parliament to an oath againſt his having uſed bribery, or any other illegal or unconſtitutional means of gaining his election.

" For excluding penſioners from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons; and for reducing the number of placemen there, as much as is conſiſtent with the public ſervice.

" For explaining the many revenue acts, which intend the great parts of the revenue for the ſervice of the kingdom; which parts of the revenue it is therefore illegal to charge with penſions; and for diſtinguiſhing them from thoſe acts, whereby the King is inveſted with a private property in a few particulars: in order to reduce the pecuniary power of the crown within law; and conform it to liberty.

" For explaining, amending, or if it ſhall be found neceſſary to the freedom of the country,

country, for repealing the law of Henry the 7th, commonly called Poyning's law *; in order to vindicate Ireland from the hardſhips ſhe ſuſtains under the miſconſtruction and oppreſſion of that law, obliging her as is pretended, to tranſmit, through the unconſtitutional medium of the privy-council, all her bills to England, for the previous approbation or alteration, or rejection of the King in council there, and originating many of her laws in the illegal ſource of that privy-council,—thereby depriving her of her rights as a free country, and ſubjugating her to the arbitrary caprice and corruption of powers unknown to the conſtitution, Lord Lieutenants, Secretaries, Privy Councils, and Engliſh Attorney Generals.

" I do alſo moſt ſolemnly promiſe not to accept from the crown, or its miniſters, during the exiſtence of the enſuing parliament, nor as long as I ſhall have the honour of repreſenting this county, place, penſion, contract, title, gratuity, or emolument of any kind, nor in any mode whatſoever: unleſs the extraordinary exigence of publick affairs

* This law, as is well known, was repealed, by the Act of Settlement in 1782.

ſhould

ſhould render it neceſſary for his Majeſty to call for the general aſſiſtance of his ſubjects in a juſt cauſe; which juſtice, however, and exigence, I ſhould entirely ſubmit to my conſtituents to determine: For,

"I do further promiſe, and bind myſelf to my conſtituents, by every aſſurance that a man of honour can give or expect, that I ſhall at all times and all occaſions exactly purſue ſuch inſtructions as they ſhall think proper to give me."

Is there an idea in this teſt, to which a conſtitutional candidate can take exception? None. I aſſert, not one. Is the mode of taking it objectionable? Certainly not. For it is the mildeſt, and moſt gentle. We only require our candidates to ſign it. Preſerved in our county records, their ſignature ſhall be ſufficient. *Litera ſcripta manet.* We will not preſs them to ſwear. We need not, with the elegant Otway, "violate their delicacy by ſo rude a bond."

"No, not an oath—according to Brutus, ſpeaking through Shakeſpeare—

—— "If that the fate of men—
"The ſufferance of our ſouls, the times abuſe;
"If theſe be motives weak--break off betimes."

---But

---But I have exceeded my uſual limits: and will therefore defer a few further thoughts as to the mode of the county's adoption of this, or any other teſt, till my next, which ſhall be my concluding letter.

A FREEHOLDER.

April 5th, 1776.

LETTER XII.

Our friends are dear to us; our relations are dear; dear are our families, our parents, and our children; but all theſe affections, theſe tender charities, are comprehended in the ſuperlative love we owe to our country; for the advantage of which, what good man would heſitate to die? CICERO.

BEFORE we proceed to the mode of publickly adopting a teſt, it may be neceſſary to premiſe a few words in explanation of

of ſome parts of that, which I took the liberty of propoſing, not ſo much to your adoption as your conſideration.—Penſions and places, in a conſtitutional light, are evils of great magnitude. For they attach a great intereſt to the crown, preponderating already, from other cauſes, againſt the weight of the commons. But ſome evils are neceſſary, in the political, as well as the natural, ſyſtem. And we muſt learn to bear our conſtitution with its natural and neceſſary infirmities. Of this deſcription are placemen in the Houſe of Commons; without a certain number of whom, to open and explain the publick accounts, and to ſtate the neceſſities of publick ſervice, the buſineſs of the Houſe muſt ſtagnate, and the neceſſary intercourſe be interrupted between the executive and the legiſlative. Penſioners, on the other hand, have no buſineſs there. Thoſe publick beggars of the ſtate are at leaſt as unqualified to ſit in parliament, as the private beggars of the ſtreet. Let them then enjoy their alms, without the ambition or abſurdity of being the legiſlators of the kingdom. But a certain

tain number of men, with the knowledge, and the reponſibility too, of office, are neceſſary to wiſe and effective legiſlation. In the teſt therefore, a limitation of placemen, not an excluſion, was ſtipulated; ſanctified however by the controul of the conſtituents, as to the neceſſity and degree of that limitation, and the propriety of the repreſentative ever becoming ſo.

Signature of the teſt was propoſed, inſtead of an oath; as well from the great authority there cited, and a confidence that ſuch an act would be ſufficiently obligatory; as from a wiſh to diſarm every poſſible objection to the meaſure, which ſome too ſcrupulous reaſoners might advance. There is a ſort of ſtrained nicety, a prudery in conſcience and religion, which objects to the uſe of oaths, unleſs particularly preſcribed and authorized. If however any conſtituents think that ſanction neceſſary, the candidate who ſhall adopt it muſt with them have additional merit.

To agree on the propriety of this great publick meaſure, and to eſtabliſh it both in principle and form, the moſt publick conſultation

ſultation and concurrence are requiſite. Publick meetings are held for this purpoſe; announced to the county by the ſheriff, on the application of a ſufficient number of freeholders. It then becomes his duty to convene them in the moſt convenient place. Our preſent worthy ſheriff, it is ſuppoſed, would not heſitate in advancing any meaſure for the publick advantage; which a county-meeting, preparatory to an election, has been always conſidered to be; and is moſt reſpectably recommended to this country, by the uniform practice of all the free counties in England. But though a ſheriff refuſe his concurrence, the meaſure proceeds. Bodies of freeholders advertiſe; and call on their brother-electors to meet, to deliberate, to decide,—on the moſt important ſubject which can occur to them. A ſheriff is called upon, only as the principal officer of the county; and the natural channel through which publick notice ſhould be conveyed to them. But if that channel be ſtopped up, the publick deſire will find a vent,—will make itſelf a way. And, I have heard, that in ſuch caſes its progreſs

is

is more impetuous and irreſiſtible. Strengthened by oppoſition, the increaſing ſtream of patriotiſm ſwells into a victorious torrent, and bears down or overflows every obſtacle that endeavours to withſtand it.

The neceſſity of this meaſure, its wiſdom, a form in which it may be drawn up, and the method for its county adoption, have been ſubmitted to you. It is yours to adopt that form, or a better one; and to purſue the moſt effectual method to give it publick ſanction. The ſubject is of the deepeſt nature, and the moſt ſerious tendency. It requires all our attention to fathom it; and calls for all our ſpirit to do it juſtice. Let me conjure you, to lay it to your hearts with the cordiality it deſerves.

I much apprehend that the detached appearance of theſe Letters, their interruption and imperfection, have rendered them very inadequate to the cauſe I have undertaken. Confident, however, in the goodneſs of that cauſe, and of the principle with which I undertook it, let me hope that the merit of both will plead for and ſupply the deficiency of the advocate. *Magna eſt veri-*

tas, et prævalebit. It will, it muſt prevail. Liberty ſhall triumph over her confederated enemies. The fallen haughtineſs of humbled power, and the baſeneſs of groveling corruption ſhall lick the duſt together. Independence and publick virtue ſhall erect the ſtandard of freedom high in this happy land: under her victorious banners, peace ſhall ſmile and induſtry ſhall flouriſh. Eſteem, confidence, and affection, the free gifts of grateful liberty, ſhall wait upon our rulers; who ſhall be popular in proportion to their power; and ſhall find their firmeſt ſupport, as it will be their chief happineſs, to preſide over an united and free people.

A FREEHOLDER.

April 9th, 1776.

DEMOCRATICUS.

A SERIES OF LETTERS,

ORIGINALLY PRINTED IN

MR. WOODFALL'S Daily Paper,

THE

PUBLICK ADVERTISER,

In the Year 1779.

DEMOCRATICUS.

For the PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

" WHERE is that God of Finance," exclaims our modeſt miniſter *, " who ſhall " better ſupport the credit of the country " than myſelf?"---" Who will undertake for " all the ſupplies neceſſary in this exigent " moment, without great loſs to the publick, " and the impoſition of taxes onerous to " the people? When HE ſhall be found, " I will cheerfully retire from my ſtation; " happy in my country's proſperity from ſo " ſimple a meaſure as the diſmiſſion of a " Chancellor of the Exchequer!" Let us

* Lord North.

examine

examine this rant. His Lordſhip declares he is ready to give place, not to any able financier that may be pointed out, (for then indeed his date of power were ſhort) but to any who ſhall poſitively undertake immediate and eaſy relief of the publick neceſſities, imminent and ruinous as they are at the preſent diſgraceful moment. But, the diſgrace and the ruin of the preſent moment we owe to his Lordſhip, and his accomplices in office. This they may deny; for what will they not deny or aſſert? But their country challenges them to the proof. ---It is a truth demonſtrable in argument. His Lordſhip has been ten years in power; in office, at leaſt: for I am aware of the defence under which his friends would ſhelter him; and will admit to him every reaſonable degree of inſignificance, as to his honour, both as a miniſter and a man. But he has not been ſufficiently contemptible to be ſafe. He has had power enough to ruin his country. All its reſources have been at the command of adminiſtration. Never was government ſo ſtrongly ſupported. The publick purſe has been poured into

into their coffers, almoſt without queſtion or account. The publick ſword was placed in their hand without controul, and ſharpened at their pleaſure; and the flag of England was committed to their care unſtained. Monſtrous majorities in parliament obeyed their mandates; and even the people, till their late bitter experience, were deluded and inflamed into a kind of concurrence in their violences. Such was the fulneſs of power entruſted to our miniſters. What poſſible pretence, therefore, can they oppoſe to the inference, which I maintain is inevitable from the preſent ſtate of things? The diſgrace of our arms; the fall of our finance; the bankruptcy of commerce; loſs of friends and acceſſion of enemies; alienation of loyalty and confirmation of diſaffection, to the utter diſmemberment and imminent ruin of the empire; theſe are the poſitive facts of the preſent time, which preſs and overwhelm every man in the country who has not loſt the uſe of reaſon and the affections of ſenſe. What do the miniſters anſwer? They cannot ſay WE did it. No, my Lord. The hands of the publick,

publick, and eſpecially of that part of it which you attempt to vilify for their determined oppoſition, are as guiltleſs of the ſword which you plunge in the vitals of the country, as of the proſtituted purſe exhauſted to pamper every department of the ſtate. You, my Lord, and the excluſive partners of your gratifications, have the excluſive praiſe of all our preſent ſituation. And if miniſters can yet be reſponſible to this ſinking country, you and your aſſociates have an excluſive title to publick vengeance.

How then ſtands the argument of this reaſoning placeman? Exactly conſiſtent with his financial calculations. The expoſal of the latter, of his ignorance even in the value of annuities, of his confounded argument of gratifications and ſupplies, and of his hopes and gueſſes about the finance of France, can receive no addition either of acuteneſs or eloquence to thoſe abilities which detected his miſerable budget. But his place, it ſeems, he will not reſign, till ſome god ſhall ariſe, equal to the miraculous taſk of inſtantly reſtoring order, vigour, and

and happineſs to the country which he and his friends have governed! However we may doubt the decency, no man can diſpute the prudence of this argument; which, by making the tenure of his power equal to the weakneſs, if not wickedneſs, with which he has uſed it, would indeed eſtabliſh his intereſt to him and his heirs for ever.

I humbly recommend to his Lordſhip to conſider, that men now begin to feel; and therefore to think for themſelves: that bombaſt ſo unplauſible can no longer deceive; but will juſtly cover with contempt and puniſhment, him who dares to uſe it. I would therefore ſubmit to him, whether he ought not, in ſafety, to reverſe his language, and ſpeak truth. The following ſample of it is at his ſervice, which I would ſincerely adviſe him to pronounce as the epilogue to his taxes this day.

"Where is that demon of diſappointment
" and diſtreſs, who ſhall better ruin the
" credit of the country than myſelf? Who
" will with more confidence undertake for
" all the ſupplies towards a war, wicked in
" its principle, and impracticable in its progreſs?

" progreſs? Or who, with leſs ſhame, will
" fail in every undertaking, and violate
" every promiſe;---with greater loſs to the
" publick, or taxes more intolerable?---As
" none ſuch can be found, I will inſtantly
" retire from my ſtation; too happy if my
" country's lenity ſhall be content in ſo
" ſimple a puniſhment as my diſmiſſion from
" all my offices."

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

DEMOCRATES.

March 1, 1779.

TO THE

PRINTER *of the* PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

SIR,

IT is hoped that the publick has paid due attention to the ingenious reſources, as well as the ingenious logic of its miniſter.---

Indeed

Indeed it is almoſt impoſſible to ſeparate them; ſo congenially do they intermix and illuſtrate each other. When he reaſons, his argument is founded on his taxes; which his own meaſures have rendered at once neceſſary and impracticable: "therefore," ſays our treaſury-logician, "I ſhall continue "in office." When he taxes, his reaſoning repays his finance with abundant theory: and firſt he hopes; then he promiſes; and at laſt he aſſerts: This climax of confidence is peculiarly obſervable. For it is not, as may at firſt appear, an attempt at additional credit. He only takes in order to retain what he has, by preſerving an aggregate proportion of influence. It becomes neceſſary, therefore, to grow ſtrong in words, as he fails in fact. He thus repairs his deficiency of matter, by the force of aſſurance; and ſecures the requiſite parliamentary momentum to move at will the purſe of the publick.

His late experiments have been wonderfully ſucceſsful, if we conſider the complication of machinery and novelty of ſituation that might naturally have diſconcerted his

moving

moving powers. Acknowledged impotence was the ground they ſtood on; and former diſappointment was preſent encouragement ---Thus founded, he proceeded to hope for the future poverty of France, becauſe ſhe had now no debt; and for the future riches of England, becauſe ſhe had now no credit. His hopes then expanded to infinite practical benefits, from leſs than ſpeculative pamphlets. He expatiated on the facility of obtaining much, becauſe little could not be obtained: and on the wiſdom, in effect, of a productive tax, which ſhould deſtroy the productive principle. This hopeful miniſter then, inſpired with the ſpirit of promiſe, engaged to relieve the ſinking fund, by continuing its burthen; undertaking that the taxes, whoſe failure had overwhelmed it, ſhould now produce, becauſe experience proved them unproductive. He promiſed---but what did he *not* promiſe? Nothing is too arduous for his magnanimous imagination. He promiſed even the continuance of the war in America. He pledged his honourable perſeverance in it, becauſe he had ſtudied its relinquiſhment

through

through every disgrace to himself and his accomplices; and he vows vengeance on the rebels, because he had been a beggar *at the feet of America*, that *they* would forgive *him*. He urges war because he cannot wage it; and because the greatest total exertions of his country have been baffled;---he promises success from distracted efforts, and little battles; from operations of less extent, and struggles of wasted vigour. And he defends this monstrous mass of absurdity and calamity, by the offence of truth and honour; by libelling the most honoured names in the country; endeavouring to tear from the brow of valour and well-earned fame, its established laurel; fairly won in the fame fields of glory that gave immortal crowns to Wolfe, to Saunders, and to Hawke; planted by Mr. Pitt, and gathered by those brave men, who are now traduced for not adding to their wreaths in the desart, where thorns and thistles only grow; who are devoted for the failure of impossible measures, and calumniated for the disappointment of counsels, which as no wisdom or justice had contributed to form, no

valour

valour or conduct could avail to effectuate.

Self-defence, my Lord, may be the law of art, as it is of nature. We will not wonder, therefore, that you and your friends ſhould ſtrain every artifice to ruin the nobleſt honour, and the moſt approved virtue in the kingdom; becauſe that virtue is too pure, and that honour too illuſtrious to mix with meanneſs, malice, and diſgrace; becauſe thoſe honourable and injured men will not ſerve their country, while you preſide at the treaſury; while your aſſeſſor holds the department that *was* American, and continues baleful intercourſe with the ghoſts of the departed colonies; and while the ſtain of office, that reproach and ſtigma of every thing decent in private life, or dignified in publick conduct, uſurps the care of the Britiſh flag.

DEMOCRATES.

March 5, 1779.

For

For the PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

" IF the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, or " the noble Lord at the head of the Admi- " ralty, have diſmantled the naval ſervice " of its beſt and braveſt officers, they are " traitors;---more criminally traitorous to " their country, than the wretch who at- " tempts to fire your dock-yards!" Truth is bold. The Right Honourable Colonel * did not fear to urge home the charge. HE did not diſgrace his aſſertion with the ſub- terfuge of Shakeſpeare's clown. HE did not whine out *that it all depended on an If;* nor falſify his words with an auxiliary *Almoſt.* He maintained his hypotheſis, and proved the fact. What ſays the culprit in the blue ribbon? Guilty or not guilty? Nothing? Mute,—abſolutely mute! But he ſpeaks by his counſel: who is alſo his witneſs, and aſſures us "that his Lordſhip is the *moſt*

* Colonel Barrê.

popular

popular miniſter the country ever had!" We all know the tender ties that have attached this young gentleman and this noble Lord to a *common centre.* When weeping beauty ſues, a Lord is but a man. And who will not admire the interchangeable delicacies of love and gratitude? This beautiful ſyſtem was not, as Monteſquieu ſays of the Engliſh conſtitution, found in the woods; but as Mr. St. J—— hopes will be completed there: and in the woods of America too; where indeed the completion of our conſtitution, rather than of Mr. St. J——'s hopes, is only to be looked for.

Did his Lordſhip reſerve his defence for this day, when again perhaps the charge ſhall be urged and proved againſt him? or will he continue contumacious, at his peril? Even the *ſound diſcretion* of Mr. Wedderburne will diſgrace its definition, and will heſitate at the tyrannous and traitorous proſcription of the beſt and braveſt men from our ſervice, though its nature was amply indulged in their groundleſs and malicious proſecution.

My

My Lord, the honour of the ſervice, and involved in it the ſafety of the country, demand, and will every day more urgently demand, your anſwer or your puniſhment. Seriouſly, my Lord: for be aſſured your Barnacle-jokes ſhall not ſuffice for the former, nor merely the diſmiſſion of you and your Brother-barnacles for the latter. Did you, or did you not, with your accomplices in government, commit the honour of the Britiſh flag into an hazard, from which nothing could have redeemed it but the magnanimity of Mr. Keppel? Did you, or did you not, ever ſignify a ſentiment from government on that important and moſt conſequential tranſaction? which if meritorious, deſerved the loudeſt praiſe; if blameable, the ſevereſt puniſhment. Did you, or did you not, ſend him again to ſea, at laſt with a force almoſt equal to the French, entangled and endangered by your ſilence and malevolence? On his return, victorious in ſpite of treachery or malice, did you, or did you not, congratulate him? On his honeſt triumph, victorious over a groundleſs and malicious accuſation, which had

wickedly aimed at his life and honour, did you, or did you not, join the general joy of your country? Or were you, and your compeers the exception of the age, the joint Therſites of the time, envious of his virtues, and ſickening at his glory?

Of the wretched man whom the favour of government has conducted to his fate, even ſatire ſhall be ſilent. Perhaps not an object of pity: but no man is an object of cruelty.—But of the illuſtrious Admiral whoſe virtues are beſt rewarded by the applauſe of his country and mankind, have not you, and your abettors, been aſſiduous traducers?—in private ſcandals—in publick libels? Under your ſanction, in your pay, does not the preſs groan with calumny againſt him? The preſs, my Lord, is honeſt as well as free. It owes you much, and ſhall not remain in your debt.

DEMOCRATES.

March 22, 1779.

TO THE

PRINTER *of the* PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

SIR,

ON that memorable occaſion, when Governor Johnſtone was to atone for his vote againſt adminiſtration by his ſpeech againſt Lord Howe, it cannot be wondered that the delicacy of ſituation ſhould a little embarraſs a man, whoſe characteriſtic is certainly not refinement or addreſs. That ſuch a man floundering between his conviction and his commiſſion, ſhould incur a little abſurdity, will not create ſurpriſe. His aukward efforts at conſiſtency have hitherto provoked no paſſion but pity.—They have attracted little notice, and leſs reſentment. But when the Governor grows miſchievous; when he contracts a league with miniſters, offenſive as well as defenſive;—and not content with extolling the wiſdom of their deliberations, and his own glorious ſucceſſes

under their banner, proceeds to arraign the *beſt* characters in the country, charging the moſt eminent officers in the naval ſervice with deſertion of duty, and *growing too great for the ſtate;* and indirectly imputing to one of them, deficiency of conduct or courage in his American command; he then deſerves ſomething leſs than compaſſion, and more than contempt.—The *gentleman* who inſinuates againſt the honour or delicacy of another, deſerves rebuke: the *captain* who depreciates the character and conduct of his ſuperior officer, deſerves chaſtiſement; though the *commiſſioner* who rails at miniſters, and then flatters them, who flatters "*the worthy characters*" in America, and than rails at them; who ſtigmatiſes the country which employs him, and his royal maſter whoſe commiſſion he holds, for "*their conduct in the hour of their inſolence,*" may perhaps deſerve—his ſalary.

I ſtated in my former letter *a few* of the notorious facts which more than vindicate *Admiral Keppel* from Governor Johnſtone's imputation; which demonſtrate that injured officer, not only guiltleſs of *deſerting the ſtate,*

ſtate, but eminently meritorious in his zeal to ſerve it; in actually having ſerved it through all the dangers of adminiſtration, till confirmed injuries rendered his further ſervice utterly impoſſible as a man of honour, ſpirit, or common-ſenſe, under the preſent miniſters.

If we conſider *Lord Howe*'s principles and conduct, it will appear at leaſt equally extraordinary that ſuch an imputation ſhould be imagined againſt *him*. His political ſentiments were well known; and the firmneſs, as well as the goodneſs of his underſtanding, is univerſally acknowledged. He never adopted nor deſerted his opinions lightly. Poſſeſſed, however, of the ſteadieſt diſapprobation of ſome of the principles of ſome of our rulers, he did notwithſtanding accept the command in America. This is a poſitive fact, directly in proof that merely a difference of political ſentiments from the miniſter did not, could not, induce him to *deſert the ſtate*. It would be the groſſeſt perverſion of argument, to inſinuate a contrary inference from this admitted fact, to argue, that becauſe he actually engaged in the ſervice

of

of the ſtate, he was virtually to deſert it;—that becauſe he diſliked ſome of the opinions of the miniſter, he was to betray the whole truſt of his country. If ſuch were the fair inference, what will his advocates ſay for the miniſter himſelf, who has ſignalized a diſlike of his own opinions by a proof which Lord Howe cannot give,—by a violation of the word of honour; ſolemnly pledged by this honourable miniſter to the country (and eſpecially the country gentlemen) "that he would *never* depart from his opinions, nor *make conceſſions to America!*" Yet he has found his opinions ſo deſerving of *diſlike*, that he has departed from every one of them. The neceſſities of his folly have been ſo much ſtronger than the obligations of his honour, that he has ſacrificed the latter to appeaſe the former; and has been forced to ſupplicate every thing, where he was bound to concede nothing.

Lord Howe, no leſs than Admiral Keppel, experienced from the firſt moment of his appointment the cold and diſcouraging neglect of adminiſtration. That dilatory diſtruſt which marks the indeciſion of little minds,

minds, disappointed the hopes of the country, and of Lord Howe, in the effect of the commission to which he was named. The powers granted to him were imperfect, as he in vain remonstrated before he went out; and the delay was fatal, as every man, except the ministers, foresaw. Seven months had elapsed between the declared intention and the appointment of that commission. What could be expected by any reasonable man, but that the minister's prohibitory-bills, piracy-bills, "*starvation-bills*,"—(for barbarous epithets best suit barbarous measures)—should in the mean time have driven the Americans to independence.

Lord Howe did notwithstanding, for the possibility of serving his country in spite of her ministers, accept the commission and the command: and though the deceitful delays of administration in granting the first, and their continued neglects and blunders in supporting the last, made it impossible to succeed effectually in either, his services in both have confirmed to him what he had before amply earned, the grateful voice of his country, and the impartial praise of history.

To

To thoſe who know the parties, the unceaſing efforts of miniſtry to detract from his character, would be ſufficient proof of its eminent merit, profeſſionally or perſonally, from which they have not endeavoured to detract? They have ſlandered Sir Guy Carleton and Sir William Howe; they have perſecuted General Burgoyne, and they have conſpired againſt Admiral Keppel. Our oldeſt and beſt acknowledged officers, of veteran fame, have not eſcaped, becauſe they interpoſed in the cauſe of honour. The ſacred character of courts martial, and the unanimous honour of the Britiſh navy, have been aſſailed. In ſuch a maſſacre of honourable character, it would be extraordinary indeed if Lord Howe were a favourite.

But hitherto the ſcandals of miniſtry have moved in a humbler ſphere,—in paragraphs and whiſpers; not leſs miſchievous, perhaps, circulated as they are with malicious induſtry, but certainly leſs *bold* than the avowal of Governor Johnſtone.

From his avowed imputations, I ſhall in another letter ſelect three ideas, and ſhall take

take the liberty of adding Lord Howe's ſhort but deciſive comments on them. With what has been already ſaid, and what is univerſally admitted as to reſpective reputation, they will probably be ſatisfactory to the publick.

DEMOCRATES.

April 1, 1779.

TO THE

PRINTER *of the* PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

SIR,

BEFORE I proceed to obſerve upon the imputations and doctrines of Governor Johnſtone, and the manner in which Lord Howe treated them, as I propoſed in my laſt letter, it may not be improper to advert a little to the long and laborious ſpeech which the Governor has thought proper to publiſh.

publiſh. The miſrepreſentation of Admiral Keppel's ſentiments with which it begins, is a clue to the intention of the whole. The Admiral is there made to give his ſanction to the conduct of miniſters,—"that in his "opinion they had done every thing in "their power to aſſiſt Lord Howe; and "that they had not force ſufficient to ſend "a fleet to the Mediterranean." Directly contrary to fact, and the Admiral's declared opinion, is the firſt aſſertion; and groſsly fallacious is the ſecond, as deduced from the former: for it would thence be inferred, that having done every thing for Lord Howe, they *therefore* had not force ſufficient for the Mediterranean. Now, what was the fact? They *had done nothing* for Lord Howe, and they *could do nothing* for the Mediterranean. And what was Admiral Keppel's opinion, demonſtrated in the Houſe of Commons? Not as the Governor would echo to the miſrepreſention of miniſters, that they had done every thing in their power, and therefore that they were innocent as to ſubſequent inſufficiency of force; but, that their original neglect and ignorance

throughout

throughout had left them finally deficient, even in defence of the kingdom:—Not that *they had aſſiſted* Lord Howe, but that his Lordſhip's own incomparable conduct, "*for the* "*glory of which he would gladly have exchang-*"*ed all the actions of his life,*" had ſupported himſelf throughout the moſt dangerous circumſtances of inferiority to the enemy to which miniſters had devoted him, and had ſaved the fleet and army in America.

So much for that miſrepreſentation, which one would hardly have expected to ſee formally in print, detected and expoſed as it had been in the debate.

Some other points of leſs importance occur in the printed ſpeech of the Governor, which thoſe who heard Lord Howe's reply will wonder to ſee reſtrained, being not immediately neceſſary to the cauſe of adminiſtration. The inſinuation, for inſtance, in terms as liberal as the idea, that Lord Howe had *ſome ſhare* in the publication of the pamphlet relative to the tranſactions of the fleet, might have been ſpared (it is a little ſoftened) in the printed ſpeech; as it would have been better not repeated, and urged with

with ſome argument about an alluſion to inſtructions contained in it, in the Governor's reply and debate. The *manner* in which Lord Howe obſerved upon it, might have convinced his ſenſibility, if not his candour. His Lordſhip had declared upon his honour he knew nothing of the pamphlet till it was ſent to him, in a cover, to his houſe in the country;—nor had at the moment he was ſpeaking, any certain knowledge of the author:—That as to the propriety, the decency, of imputing to him *any ſhare* of a pamphlet, "loading him," as the gentleman choſe to expreſs it, "with the moſt fulſome flattery," he would leave ſuch inſinuations to the gentleman to reconcile *to his own ideas of liberality*.

The other more important imputations, which however feebly urged, were aimed at all his character, profeſſional, perſonal, or political, his Lordſhip repelled with a force and dignity of conviction, not eaſily imagined by thoſe who had not ſeen ſuch a man in ſuch a ſituation. Beſides the many collateral facts of "the quantity of proviſions in Philadelphia," of "ſix months ſubſiſtence

ſiſtence for the troops by driving Long-Iſland, &c." which the Governor choſe to *aſſert, ("as he had been informed,")*—in contradiction to the poſitive ſtate of things, and the imminent danger, as Lord Howe had ſtated, *from actual knowledge*, of the army and fleet being ſtarved and deſtroyed! —The governor proceeded to his grand argument to prove Lord Howe's fleet ſuperior to Count D'Eſtaing's. The object of this argument, evidently to vindicate adminiſtration, by derogating from Lord Howe, deſerved the kind of proof that he advanced to effect it. He worked the ſhips of the line and his frigates, as a ſchool-boy works his pounds, ſhillings, and pence; adding and ſubtracting, and drawing up a line of figures inſtead of a line of battle.—An intention ſo illiberal, and proofs ſo ridiculous, would hardly have demanded ſerious refutation, if they had not been accompanied by an impoſing parade of profeſſional minuteneſs;—for the Governor has been a Captain in the ſervice.

Lord Howe was aſtoniſhed, that any man who had ever ſeen or heard of the ſervice, ſhould

ſhould advance ſuch ſtrange and ignorant imaginations. "He underſtood, indeed," he went on to ſay, "that the gentleman had "*quitted the profeſſion for ſome time;*—but "that a man who had ever been in it, "ſhould have ſo totally loſt all ideas of it, "as to talk of *piecing out a line of battle* "*with frigates!*—againſt a great heavy line "of the enemy of much ſuperior ſhips!— "He did not know what term to give to "ſuch argument."—'The gentleman had "talked of fifty and ſixty-gun ſhips being "equal to ſeventy-fours!—and that a ſmall "ſhip, ſupported by a frigate, could beat a "large ſhip!—'Poſſibly,' his Lordſhip ad- "mitted, 'in a ſingle engagement:—and "poſſibly, alſo, a ſmaller ſhip might ſingly "engage a much larger one with ſucceſs, by "the ſuperior gallantry of commander and "men;—but to transfer this reaſoning, un- "certain even in the caſe of ſingle ſhips, to "a general engagement in a great line of "battle!—No man could argue ſo who "knew what a line of battle was; for that "in ſuch a caſe, the frigates probably could "not act at all; and the ſmaller veſſels

"certainly

" certainly with encreaſed diſadvantage, " againſt the combined and greatly-multi- " plied force of the ſuperior line."—Every one who has ſeen or heard Lord Howe, muſt have obſerved with admiration the peculiar modeſty and delicacy which characteriſe the genuine ſoldier. Coriolanus wiſhed " Rather to have his wounds to heal again, —than hear how he got them." Whenever profeſſional ſubjects occur, Lord Howe avoids every poſſible mention of himſelf; or if the debate require it, he ſpeaks on that ſubject with a diffidence and modeſty, equalled only by the applauſe and triumph with which his country crowns it.—Nothing, therefore, can more ſtrongly mark his fullneſs of conviction on this occaſion, mixed with ſome juſt indignation, than the juſt perſonality which was extorted from him.—" I feel myſelf profeſſionally called " upon;—but I ſhould not mention my " rank in the ſervice, nor allude to any " little abilities or experience I may poſſeſs " in it, if I could not ſupport my opinion " by argument, and appeal for its undenia- " ble certainty to every ſeaman who knows " what

"what ſervice is.—I can, therefore, aſſure "the gentleman, that *Admiral Howe* will "not apply to *Captain Johnſtone* to inſtruct "him in the elements of his profeſſion."

But we muſt now leave the *Captain* to attend the *Commiſſioner*. For in his political capacity he proceeded to the imputation, which has already been pretty amply refuted, both as to Admiral Keppel and Lord Howe, of their "growing too great for "the ſtate."—His Lordſhip aſſured the houſe, with a zeal well conſiſtent with a whole life of the braveſt and moſt honourable patriotiſm, "That no man felt "more ardour to ſerve his country than he "did;—but he begged, that as men of "conſideration and honour, they would "weigh the circumſtances of the caſe he "ſhould ſuppoſe to them. If an officer "who accepts a command, in America ſup- "poſe, is thwarted, diſappointed, and de- "ceived in that command by the miniſter "for the American department:—If an "officer, who is appointed to a naval com- "mand, meets with nothing but neglects "and injuries from the admiralty;—if the

"firſt

" firſt Lord of that department ſets all his " power againſt all the credit and character " of that officer.---I can prove what I ſup- " poſe,---and will go into the proof when- " ever the houſe pleaſes."---What is an offi- cer ſo circumſtanced to do? *Can he ſerve* his country under ſuch miniſters? Can any man heſitate to anſwer? Will any man, for a moment, endure the injurious imputation that ſuch officers *grow too great for the ſtate* ---inſtead of the true and melancholy fact, that the ſtate is grown too corrupt and wicked for the poſſibility of being ſerved, under the preſent mal-adminiſtration, by men of character and honour.

DEMOCRATES.

April 3, 1779.

TO THE

PRINTER *of the* PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

SIR,

THOUGH Lord North omitted on laſt Thurſday his expected renewal of attack on the committee of inquiry, the public are not to conclude that he has abandoned a meaſure ſo decent and reſpectful to parliament, and ſo incumbent on himſelf as parliament miniſter. On the contrary, thoſe who beſt know him, and his parliamentary *ſyſtem*, are aſſured that he will on Tueſday object to the continuance of the inquiry, *becauſe* on the preceding Thurſday he had acquieſced in its beginning, and himſelf taken part in it. But beſides this ſyſtematical reaſon, other urgent motives occur to ſtimulate the feelings of his Lordſhip. The evidence already in poſſeſſion of this *irregular committee* is of the moſt dangerous tendency; and contrary to all order and cuſtom

tom of parliament it has been entertained, though it criminates miniſters. It cannot be imagined that the houſe will endure ſuch unparliamentary proceedings. It was improper enough to vindicate the character of Sir W. Howe; for from the demonſtration of his meritorious conduct of the war, as far as depended on him either for plan or execution, an alternative of ſome danger might ariſe againſt thoſe, whoſe counſels he was called upon to execute, with the means they ſhould be pleaſed to ſupply.—But, without waiting for this deduction of cenſure, which poſſibly might be evaded, or at leaſt delayed,—the detection all at once of the abſurdity and ignorance of our great ſtateſman will be, as Lord Nugent ſolemnly declares and "vows to God,"—*a prodigious inconvenience to them.* It cannot be doubted, therefore, that this unſeemly proceeding, which has already produced ſufficient ſport, ought now to be checked. Mr. Rigby himſelf begins to confeſs that *the joke may be carried too far;* and the clamour even of the Lord Advocate ſeems to ſubſide into the *ſilent diſcretion* of Mr. Wedderburne.

Some management, however, will be neceſſary in changing the ground with ſafety; and for this important conſideration it may be adviſeable to change the commander. It certainly is not reaſonable always to put Lord North in the van on ſuch active ſervice. Though he has ſucceeded wonderfully hitherto in *ſhifting his poſition*, and in his late famous retreat covered his rear ſo powerfully, that even Mr. Burke's rangers could ſcarcely aſſail him; his evolutions have been ſo frequently repeated, they can no longer deceive. But if a certain noble Lord will accept the command, we may indeed expect ſome maſterly manœuvres in the ſervice propoſed:—An honour that ſeems to devolve on him, from the gallantry with which he has already taken the field:—For we can hardly doubt that the zeal with which he has already *charged* the enemy will be at leaſt as conſpicuous, in acting on ſuch honourable motives to *decline the charge*. To enſure the brilliancy of the day, his Lordſhip ſhould be careful in the appointment of his officers. Mr. De Grey certainly deſerves an advanced poſt---*in the retreat;* from the

retrograde

retrograde ſkill he exhibited in his ſkirmiſh with Lord Cornwallis, at Brooklyn:---Generals Pownall and Sutton ſhall "turn the flank," and "get into the rear of the lines," ---provided always "*that they do not extend to the water*,"---and "that they have room *to lower the breeches*---of the cannon:---And laſt and leaſt, *Colonel* Onſlow will take ſpecial care, "if the rain does not blow in his face," to ſave from its fury the powder *and proviſions*.

Previouſly, however, to this retiring conqueſt of his Lordſhip, turning, as his friend Governor Johnſtone ſaid of the miniſters, (before he was a commiſſioner) his "*victorious back upon the foe*;---as I confeſs myſelf an enemy to the miniſterial mode of warfare, I wiſh to warn the people of the country where it is carried on, that if they exert their force, with ſpirit, to maintain the important advantages they have gained, they may and will ſubdue their trembling enemy. The advantages are theſe: It is in *official proof before the public*, that miniſters rejected all the information, and refuſed all the requiſitions, of the commander in chief,

as

as to the neceſſary force for carrying on the war---relying themſelves, and deceiving parliament with that reliance, on gueſſes without knowledge, and intelligence without truth. In conſequence of ſuch reliance and ſuch deception, it is in profeſſional and undoubted *proof*, at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, that they have not *now*, nor *ever* had, a force in America *capable of ſubduing it*;---that is, "They have expended forty "millions of money,---they have ſacrificed "forty thouſand lives,---they have ruined "the trade and the naval reſources of "England,---they have degraded their coun-"try from her ſtation in the world, enſlaving "her to the fear of France and the love of "Spain,---they have loſt thirteen provinces "and three millions of people, IN AT-"TEMPTING AN IMPOSSIBILITY."

DEMOCRATES.

May 8, 1779.

For

For the PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

ON the 12th of laſt January, a letter with the ſignature *Lucius*, addreſſed to Sir W. Howe, appeared in the Publick Adverti ſer. --On the 3d of the preſent June, *Agricola* appears in the ſame paper, addreſſing himſelf alſo to Sir W. Howe, with the ſame confidence of aſſertion, in the ſame inflated ſtyle, and in preciſely the ſame degree as his Caledonian predeceſſor, mercileſs both to Sir William and the publick; for he alſo writes four columns, and expects they ſhall be read; full of the ſame falſehoods and the ſame illiberal language.

Whether ſuch circumſtance of fameneſs be ſufficient to identify the writer of both theſe compoſitions, or whether the ſimilar bitterneſs of the ſtreams may not be traced to the ſame fountain-head through different channels, will appear not unworthy the reader's conſideration, when he recollects the original principle of the parliamentary inquiry.

inquiry. Perſonal propriety of conduct, as to arraigning or defending perſonal character, became a real object of publick attention, when from its relation to publick men it produced effects ſo important to the ſtate. Parliament did accordingly, in deſpight of the power that uſually controuls it, admit Sir William Howe's claim to a publick vindication of his character. It is not extraordinary that the vindication of truth ſhould produce much collateral advantage to the publick, and much miſchief to miniſters. Such has certainly been the effect of the preſent inquiry; and it cannot be wondered at, perhaps it is excuſable on principles of ſelf-defence, that men endangered by the diſcovery of truth and the vindication of honour, ſhould now reſort for protection to calumny and falſehood. But it was not perhaps quite ſo juſtifiable to have *commenced* hoſtilities againſt their general with theſe offenſive meaſures; unleſs they be juſtified on the amicable ground of modeſty and ſagacity. They were modeſt enough to be conſcious of their folly; and ſufficiently wiſe to foreſee its misfortunes. A

ſpecies

ſpecies of prudence congenial to ſuch characters, early ſuggeſted to them the neceſſity of precautionary malice. They endeavoured, therefore, while they enjoyed the preſent fruits of their crime, to alienate their reverſion of the puniſhment; and to ſecure a retreat for their own infamy in the ruin of others reputation.

But the intereſts of our miniſters and of the publick being directly oppoſite, this calumnious ſyſtem ſo ſafe to them, is exactly in the ſame proportion dangerous to the country.---Being, therefore, of the utmoſt publick importance, let the publick ſurvey it at length. It is the more worthy their contemplation, as it is indeed the only plan of the preſent adminiſtration, which ſeems to have been attended with any ſucceſs.

In every great and publick queſtion, we muſt refer to the fatal æra of theſe times. The date of the American war is the date of every publick miſchief. Beſides the notorious and incurable calamities it has entailed on the country, this peſtilent ſpirit of calumny which has infected and almoſt poiſoned the national vigour, ſeems to have iſſued

iſſued from the ſame ſource. In other wars, and under other counſels, the counſellor and the commander of the publick force ſhared its misfortune, or ſympathiſed in its ſucceſs. The head and the hand united in one great purpoſe; and valour effected what wiſdom planned and confidence conducted. If diſaſters diſappointed, or neceſſary difficulties thwarted the ſervice, they were juſtly eſtimated by an honourable miniſter and a generous people. General Wolfe's almoſt deſperate diſtreſs and *choice of difficulties,* were felt and acknowledged at home with the ſame magnanimity of candour that afterwards bore ample teſtimony to the glory of his conduct; a conduct which he was the more incited to purſue, from confidence in the guardian of his fame, from ſympathy with the magnanimous ſtateſman who then preſided in the counſels of the ſtate.—In the preſent war, under the preſent counſels, what is the lot of every man who attempts the publick ſervice?—Of thoſe very men whoſe fame had flouriſhed, whoſe merit had been ratified, under the auſpices of Mr. Pitt, and in the glories of

their

their country?—Their character, rooted in the confidence of the people, calls them into publick command in ſpite of the people's enemy and theirs: and then are ſeen and felt the monſtrous effects of ſuch a monſter in politicks, as an unpopular adminiſtration in a popular government. They encounter the diſtruſt and diſcountenance of the miniſters in proportion to the confidence and favour they enjoy from the people. On the ſame ſcale, the malice of office riſes from treachery to violence, till at laſt all the art and power of the governors is openly exerciſed againſt the beſt ſervants of government. The hardieſt and moſt veteran reputations can ſcarcely withſtand the calumnies of the cabinet. The moſt valued and honoured lives of the time, that have been often hazarded againſt the foreign enemy, are aſſailed by the domeſtick foes of their country. Failure of ſucceſs is charged to the men whoſe valour and conduct would have ſucceeded, if ſucceſs had been poſſible under ſuch counſels; and the charge is ſupported by every invention that malice and guilt can dictate. The glory which our commanders

commanders have ſnatched from the midſt of the difficulties and dangers which ſuch counſels had involved them in, is ſullied by the miniſters and their minions, who would belye it into diſgrace.—When Lord Howe, with a much inferior force to the enemy, oppoſed and foiled them, and by a ſeries of conduct and abilities that added even to *his* character, ſaved the army and the hopes of the ſtate, he is cenſured in parliament *by Governor Johnſtone.* When Admiral Keppel, by an effort of courage ſignal even in *him,* ſaved the dominion of the ſea to England, by correcting the blunders of adminiſtration; and when on return to port, having at laſt acquired an equal force, he defeated the enemy; *Lord Mulgrave* and *Lord Sandwich* deny the praiſe of his return, and the fact of his victory: and under their inſtant ſanction, *their friend, Sir Hugh Palliſer,* inſtitutes five capital charges againſt him.

It is diſguſtful to decency, and ſhocking to honour, to dwell upon ſuch inſtances. To enumerate all that might be adduced, would be to tranſcribe the whole life and converſation of our miniſters, and all their followers,

followers, for the laſt four years. Lord Chatham reſented ſuch baſeneſs with an indignation ſuitable to the ſympathy of honour that warmed his mind.—"But *miniſters cenſure* "*General Gage for his inactivity!*—Let *them* "cenſure him. It becomes their juſtice and "their honour. My Lords, it is a prudent and "a neceſſary inaction:---but it is a miſerable "ſituation, where diſgrace is prudence, and "where it is neceſſary to be contemptible." ---Such indeed is the miſery of ſituation to which every man devotes himſelf, who undertakes publick truſt under ſuch miniſters.

If they left the perſons they employ, merely to ſtruggle with the difficulties incident to the employment which their folly dictates, the danger were then almoſt ſufficient to deter any man who had the antiquated ambition of a Decius or a Curtius. But when,---I beg leave to repeat it, for it is the crying ſin of the times,---when every ſpecies of private and publick calumny is fed by miniſters againſt all thoſe whom they employ, becauſe they do not approve abſurd meaſures, or execute impoſſible ones,---it would be romantick beyond Roman example

ample to devote life and honour in ſuch a cauſe.---*Decorum pro patriâ mori;* but love of country can never ſuperſede love of honour: and the moſt rigid devotee to patriotiſm would hardly ſubmit to be ſacrificed at the ſhrine of Nemeſis by the hands of Therſites.

So much for the *perſonality againſt character*, which Lucius and Agricola, and all their tribe, exhibit by order of miniſters. It is of little moment to the publick *who* they are, if they be aware *what* they are. Publick indignation will probably be equally ſtrong, whether they be one and the ſame; or whether, inſtead of another poſtſcript to *Sir John Dalrymple*'s ſtate papers, Agricola be traced to the venomous den of *Calypſo*.--- "Qui bavium non odit, amet *tua carmina* mœvi."

DEMOCRATES.

June 9, 1779.

A few of the groſs miſrepreſentations, and aſſertions contrary to fact, with which thoſe papers abound, ſhall be expoſed in another letter.

TO

TO THE

PRINTER *of the* PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

SIR,

EVIDENCE of Sir W. Howe's conduct of the American war being now before the publick, as well as evidence of the counſels at home approving it from firſt to laſt, and ratifying the whole with the ſanction "of his Majeſty's ſtrongeſt approbation;" it would be impertinent to tranſcribe the facts and proof which every reader will find there; and it would be equally abſurd and unfair to ſolicit his judgment to any other concluſion than what they muſt produce. Let them be fairly conſidered and canvaſſed. Let no man pronounce without having read them; and let him not read without due attention, as well to the intrinſick force of the teſtimony, as to the credibility or competency of the witneſſes. And in the latter conſiderations, let him recollect that every circumſtance

circumſtance of themſelves and their ſituation is involved;---their rank, their character, their particular departments of office and of ſervice; their profeſſional ſkill to form general judgment, and their perſonal opportunities to acquire actual knowledge; and above all, their particular circumſtance as to any intereſt whatever that might warp teſtimony,---either in having received any recent boon, or actually receiving and expecting the continuance of any benefit, from any of the perſons by whom they are called to give evidence.---Let all the merits of things and perſons be exactly examined;---and the parties who ſolicited and gained the inquiry, in contempt of every ſubterfuge and artifice of their adverſary, cannot fear the final concurrence of the juſtice of their country with the honourable ſanction they originally received, derived to them from the *fountain of honour* itſelf; however the ſtream may have been ſince polluted.

But juſtice is imperfect, if only innocence be acquitted, or merit rewarded. The ſword has its function as well as the balance; and guilt muſt be puniſhed. Not, however, in this

this inſtance, according to the old, and, in general, the juſt rule,---"*Arte perire ſuâ.*" Theſe artifices of diſgrace are ſuperior to retaliation. No more can be feared from infamy, where diſhonour has already buried her ſting. But other puniſhments, and to ſome minds more ſenſible puniſhments than diſgrace, await the publick delinquent:---Puniſhments which the reſentment of the people muſt ſoon inflict on the authors of their calamities.

The prime author, for he will not conſent to be called *the prime miniſter*, of his country's ruin, I hope will permit me now and then to communicate to him ſome of the cauſes of that reſentment, towards preparing his mind for its certain conſequences. This I ſhall do with the freedom of a man who loves the people, and does not fear the miniſter, even though his power were permanent. But his Lordſhip knows that enemies need not fear *him* whom friends deſpiſe.

DEMOCRATES.

July 7, 1779.

For the PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

To the PRIME MINISTER.

MY LORD,

PERMIT an attentive admirer to offer you his congratulations on the event which has at laſt occurred, the favourite object of your indolence and your ſenſibility,---your diſmiſſion from daily labour and daily diſgrace. You know, my Lord, that I mean the prorogation of parliament; for you feel that I deſcribe it truly.---But you are ſurpriſed that the people, or a friend of the people, ſhould congratulate you on any ſucceſs of any wiſh of yours!---We are a generous enemy, my Lord, and will expound to you this perilous ænigma; of which, like Œdipus, you are yourſelf the theme and the conditioned victim. Your moſt dangerous foe, and therefore the object of publick congratulation, is Lord North. It is with him,

him, my Lord, that the people of England conſpire againſt the miniſter. It is in his wiſh that your avowed opponents concur; becauſe they know his diſpoſition fatal to your power: and they rejoice to conſign you ſolely to his diſpoſal.

While parliament continued to ſit, you attended to ſome duty in ſpite of yourſelf. "*The* MACE *inexorable and the torturing hour---called you to penance.*" The conſtant debate returned, and you rolled to it, and through it, with the blind mechaniſm of a man that walks in his ſleep, and the pain that he feels on being awakened.---When parliament is prorogued, what ſhall ſave you from the precipice? Your lethargy returns and prevails. You do nothing; and you ſuffer every thing.

If any doubt could remain on the fate of ſuch a miniſter left to himſelf, the hiſtory of your militia will remove it. Let us gratefully recollect the political juſtice of that ſcene, in which you ſo ſucceſsfully plotted your own tragi-comic cataſtrophe. It is almoſt too ludicrous to be gravely treated; and yet it may be too ſerious in

its conſequence, for ridicule or contempt. It is impoſſible not to laugh at FALSTAFF, buffeted by his own friends, and outwitted in his own knavery; but indignation checks our mirth, when we remember that the fat man has miſled the prince, and pillaged the exchequer.

When the Spaniard had denounced the war which you had not even dreamed of, but which every man in the uſe of his ſenſes did certainly foreſee,---in the imminence of invaſion to which you and your accomplices have betrayed our coaſts,---the deſperate diſtreſs of the publick ſuſpended for a moment all inference of experience; and the publick defence, the care of our exiſtence as a country, was unanimouſly confided *to you.* Then ſtood forth the prime miniſter of England, in all his impotence. You had not a ſingle idea,---not one reſource in yourſelf. In the humbleneſs of your own phraſe, and of your own ſpirit, my Lord, you *picked up the crumbs* from the eloquence of your adverſary. You caught a curſory hint of the poſſible propriety of doubling the militia. Without inquiry or precau-

tion

tion towards giving ſtrength or poſſibility of effect, you fell upon it at once as your ſole ſupport; and you cruſhed it to the ground. And how have you defended your failure? As ungratefully, as meanly, my Lord; you juſtify your impolicy by your plagiariſm. "Mr. Fox propoſed *ſomething like it!*" Yes, my Lord; and ſo did the Duke of Richmond, in another aſſembly, which you think it decent to rail at.---You forgot to add to your exculpation, that they would have conducted their propoſition in a manner *ſomething unlike* that, in which you neglected and ſquandered yours. Some vigour and activity, at leaſt, would have been found in their exertions. But I do not recollect that even Mr. Wedderburne celebrated thoſe qualities in you.---The moſt callous of your friends, who have longeſt known you and your ſubterfuges, were painfully aſtoniſhed at this. That a firſt miniſter of England ſhould defend himſelf on the diſappointment of a great publick meaſure, "becauſe a gentleman adverſe to him *had propoſed ſomething like it!*"---But enough of ſuch littleneſs.

What

What is the ſituation of the kingdom according to *your* argument, and in conſequence of *your* conduct?---That meaſure of doubling the militia, for the vain agitation of which, you protracted the ſitting of parliament a fortnight beyond the time you had argued and decided by your majority to be neceſſary for it to riſe in;—that meaſure which you urged as abſolutely eſſential to publick ſafety;---*that meaſure*, is now totally rejected! *The time* which you ſtated to be indiſpenſably critical and precious, you totally loſt! And the kingdom, according to your firſt argument and your laſt expreſs confeſſion, extorted from you by Sir George Young, when you pronounced your funeral-oration on your departed militia,---I appeal to the memory and aſtoniſhment of every man that heard you,---"*is left without any defence that can be relied on!*"

Such has been the ſucceſs, ſuch is the ſafety, which the prime miniſter's unembarraſſed wiſdom and uncontrouled power have eſtabliſhed for the publick.---But on that obſolete ſubject of the publick intereſt I have digreſſed too long. I return, my Lord,

to

to the only conſideration that can keep you awake. Let us examine what you have gained *for yourſelf* by this indulgence from your enemies;---how you have conciliated them by the ſkill, or confirmed your friends by the magnanimity of your conduct.

In that aweful hour when your country was to be informed through you of the acceſſion of Spain to the war, which under her preſent counſels ſhe has ſcarcely ſuſtained againſt America and France; in that perilous moment when every man, not callous for his country, deeply felt what you could truly deſcribe, "When," in your own words, "we were ſo burthened, ſo loaded, "ſo embarraſſed with difficulties and intri- "cacies,---*ſuch as we have never before* "*known**!"---How did your feelings correſpond with your underſtanding? Or "what "was the conſiſtent decency of your con- "duct?" Were you impreſſed with the magnitude of the publick danger? Did you enter on its grave diſcuſſion?---Did you

* Lord North, *verbatim*, in debate on his militia-bill.

prepare

prepare for firm defence againſt it, as if you knew that your country was in the forlorn hope? No, my Lord. You choſe that happy opportunity to indulge your mirth. You laughed at the repreſentatives of the people; while you convinced them they were the dupes of their own credulity, and victims of the ignorance or the treachery of their rulers.

It is not my preſent purpoſe to inquire into Nero's enjoyment of the ruin he had ſpread. Roman ſtory better tells us, how good men felt for the calamities which they would have prevented and could not ſurvive. The ſtoic was melted in the patriot; and CATO wept for his country. The tears of your hyſterick, my Lord, were reſerved for another ſubject.---But I aſk pardon. Any alluſion to that ſubject eſcaped me. I did not mean,---I hope no man can be ſo baſe,---to ridicule the fond weakneſs of a father who has loſt his child: but every man, my Lord, will reſent the inſulting ſwagger of a miniſter who has ruined his country.

Your feelings of the publick calamity were well ſucceeded by your care of the

public

publick defence. You confeſs, you argue, in parliament, as prime miniſter of the country, that the publick danger is ſuch *as we had* never before known! You introduce a plan which you ſtate on the moment, (never having thought of it before) to be eſſential to publick ſafety. Many men judge differently, as is natural, on a new ſubject. Alterations are ſuggeſted. You think they may be very proper; for you know nothing of the matter. Further changes are propoſed. They are alſo very proper,---and for the ſame reaſon. When the annihilation of the whole meaſure is recommended, "*You have no objection, if gentlemen think it neceſſary.*" At laſt, after declaring and denying your opinion four times in four hours, you have the juſt mortification of ſeeing your firſt idea reſumed, and ſent up to the Lords to diſgrace you. For there the ſubject was underſtood; and it appeared lately that you are not wholly unknown to their Lordſhips. The eloquence of LORD SHELBURNE has left you on record. The ſilence of the whole houſe conſented to the ſentence. And you cannot wonder,

wonder, my Lord, that not a voice was heard againſt it. The nobles there, however differing in ſome political ſentiments, retain a common ſenſe of their dignity, and the ſpirit of their ſituation. But every ſpark of ſpirit, of dignity, and honour, muſt revolt from the meanneſs that ſubmits to all the odium of office, without any of its authority or effect.

In times of rebellion, it was in common obſervation, that the traitor was hated, though the treaſon was loved. You, my Lord, perhaps ſtand acquitted from crimes ſo exalted. But levelling the argument to your official ſituation, it may be prudent to conſider that the tools of power are firſt deſpiſed, and at laſt thrown aſide, by thoſe who have employed them. Recollect, my Lord, and feel if you can, the real relation in which you ſtand to a great connection of power, *under* which you have been prime miniſter. The degree of reſpect that you receive from the dignity of the Lord Preſident, cannot now be ambiguous even to your inſenſibility. Lord Weymouth tells the ſecret every evening. Mr. Rigby entertains

tains the Houſe of Commons with it; and no wonder that he thinks it an excellent joke; for he gets both the laugh and the vote on his ſide. But indeed, my Lord, your perſonal eſtimation ſeems alike in all. I do not ſpeak of the rabble without doors, who ſpeak only as they feel,—the *coffee-houſe mobs*, as your Lordſhip calls them in juſt retaliation;—I appeal to every man who ſees the ſtatue on the pedeſtal. The higher the ground you attempt to take in parliament, the leſs dimenſion of power you exhibit; and if the buſineſs be arduous indeed, you are elevated into nothing.

From numberleſs inſtances of inſignificance, and of danger, conſequently, in which you ſtand when left to your own weakneſs, I have ſelected the defeat of your militia, and your confeſſed impotence of every national reſource, becauſe it is the moſt inſtant in its conſequence. I would warn you, in ſober ſincerity, of your imminent peril. You have not quite benumbed the country. The people of England have feeling, my Lord, though they have not foreſight. The hour of trial, perhaps of ruin, is at hand.

The

The legions of France, which are at this moment arrayed on their coaſts in greater force than the channel ever ſaw,—when the united navies of France and Spain ſhall ſwoop at ours, diſmantled of its beſt ſtrength, —when all the war ſhall pour into this country,—and all its miſeries deface and deſolate it,—then, my Lord, how ſhall you appeaſe the late-rouſed ſpirit of the people? Thus, I imagine, you will ſoothe them, and ſave yourſelf. "I was prime miniſter of the "Britiſh empire. I had no information of "the publick danger. I would not liſten to "thoſe who had certain knowledge of it. "When it burſt upon the country, I laughed "at it. The people, however, were almoſt as "infatuated as myſelf; for they unani-"mouſly confided the care of the ſtate to "me.—I took no care; I prepared no "publick defence. I borrowed *ſomething* "*like* a hint from others, of what appears "to be a conſtitutional defence for the "country; and therefore, perhaps it wither-"ed in my hands. I conſulted no man "who could inſtruct me in it, towards "giving it life or effect; and in indolence

"and

" and ignorance it became nothing. A moſt
" critical period of time; part of which I
" had refuſed to publick juſtice, and publick
" honour; to the injured characters of our
" higheſt commanders; whom, therefore, I
" have baniſhed from the commonwealth
" in the hour of her danger:—that time I
" employed in preventing the poſſibility of
" any meaſure being taken for the publick
" ſafety.—And, in fine, as you ſee, and feel,
" my countrymen,—and as I honeſtly con-
" feſſed to ſome country-gentlemen who had
" a ſtrange anxiety on the ſubject,—*I, your*
" *prime miniſter, left the kingdom without*
" *any defence that could be relied on.*"

DEMOCRATES.

July 20, 1779.

THE WHIG.

A SERIES OF LETTERS,

ADDRESSED

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

[Publiſhed in Mr. ALMON's Morning Paper, *The London Courant*, in the Months of November and December 1779, and in the Months of January and March 1780.]

THE WHIG.

(No. 1.)

" *I will call on my country loudly and conſtantly.*"
LORD CHATHAM.

I Truſt that neither my name nor principles are obſolete; though I am aware that the name is not in ſuch reſpect, nor the principles *yet* ſo active, as at the period of the Revolution. But if I did not feel myſelf warranted, in the hope that I addreſs a powerful body of my countrymen, when I call on my brethren of *The Good Old Cauſe*, I would not waſte my labour on a deſperate theme, nor profane the doctrine of liberty, by diſcuſſing it to unanimous ſlaves.

Whiggiſm we have ſeen triumphant in America. Whiggiſm we ſee preparing her

triumph in Ireland. Let us hope, let us prove, that her ſacred flame is not extinct in England.

If a ſlave of power ſhrink from the mention of The Good Old Cauſe, or, in the callous impudence of ſervitude, preſume to vilify it, I pity his wretchedneſs, I deſpiſe his inſolence; but I would puniſh his treaſon to the conſtitution.

The Good Old Cauſe is the cauſe of the People. Simple and obvious is this conſideration; *that the cauſe of the People is ſucceſsful exactly in proportion to the energy of their original power.* Such energy, acting through the claſſes of the conſtitution which the People made, preſerves their liberty as a People, and their power as a Nation; for it watches integrity, and provides ability, in the perſons they permit to adminiſter their affairs. Various and intricate, on the contrary, are the means conducive to *their* cauſe, ambition, avarice, or ſloth, would enſlave, impoveriſh, or loſe their country. Rectitude has only one direction, but the obliquity of treachery is infinite.

The

The direction in which the people of this country act, when they act rightly, is, through the parliament which they have elected, to the throne which they have raised. If wickedneſs or weakneſs be found in the counſels or counſellors of the crown, parliament is the inſtrument appointed to puniſh, or to diſmiſs; but if the inſtrument fail, the land will exert her native ſtrength. The people, of original right as a free people, will vindicate the country, correct their parliament, and reform their throne. I know this was not the law of Jeffries, I know it is not the law of modern Weſtminſter; but I know it is the right reaſon of the conſtitution. I would not violate the manes of the Revolution, by quoting Locke againſt Lord Mansfield, even if it were a queſtion of argument; but human authority or reaſoning, however illuſtrious or forcible, were ſuperfluous to demonſtrate what God hath written in our hearts.

Publick guilt being capable of ſuch diverſification, it is evidently the duty of publick virtue to exerciſe various attention to the ſeveral aſſaults that may be made by power,

and will be ever made in ſome degree, againſt the intereſts of the community. Innumerable are the modes in which hypocriſy may deceive, tyranny oppreſs, corruption debauch, or folly ſquander; any one of which crimes, unchecked, would run to general ruin. But if, in monſtrous and unheard-of conſpiracy, they ſhould all unite againſt the liberty and glory of a country, throughout all the betrayed truſts of the publick; active indeed ought to be the exertion of the people againſt ſuch danger. The Whig ſpirit, exiſting in the country, muſt collect and cooperate. If compreſſed in ſmall compaſs, its ſpring will be the ſtronger. The publick traitor may inſult fallen Liberty with the reproach that all her ſpirit is extinguiſhed; that no publick virtue remains; that every man is baſe and wicked as himſelf; but the reproach will operate as it ought. It will give vigour to ſtrength, and activity to reſentment. It will ſharpen publick ſpirit, and point the virtue of the patriot with the honour of the man.

Vigilance ſhould be in proportion to danger. If we have been remiſs, and if publick

publick danger have, in conſequence, increaſed, let us now double our watch, and redeem our negligence.

In England every man is a politician.—This maxim hath incurred ridicule, only from the imperfection of its obſervance. It is exactly conſtitutional, and ſtrictly true in theory; but it becomes ridiculous, becauſe it is only theoretical. It ought to be demonſtrated in practice; and then it would not be anſwered with a laugh. "The Britiſh Conſtitution," Lord Bolingbroke well ſays, "is the *buſineſs* of every Briton."

The Britiſh Conſtitution hath changed its form, and is loſing its ſpirit. Some magick has metamorphoſed the ancient pyramid into the deformity of a Chineſe pagoda. The beautiful ſtrength of its order is gone; and we now tremble for the narrowed baſe; oppreſſed by the middle; with monſters at the top!

How to recal the ſpirit that hath fled, and how to raiſe that which remains; how to reſtore external ſtability; and by what beſt means to purify into its ancient vigour the interior of the conſtitution, is the *buſineſs* which

which now demands the active vigilance of all—for the danger is universal and imminent.

As a member of the publick body, I offer to my country all my exertion towards the publick weal, in the humble but laborious office which I undertake. It is humble; for it professes little more than the representation of fact. It will be laborious; for the endeavour will be to represent the mischiefs of the times.

It is not easy to select from multiplicity; but in guarding against dangers, *foreign* and *domestick*, the conduct of their Representatives in Parliament seems to challenge the first and instant attention of the people: for it is the malignity of this enormous mischief, like scepticism in religion, that it fights the forms against the substance. Faith is above reason; and the people are paramount to their servants: but the infidel blasphemes in very regular syllogisms; and the Minister betrays his country exactly according to *order*, and with perfect preservation of every form of parliament. Of this, the publick shall have damning proof;—irrefragable proof;

proof;—undeniable—except by Lord North, —for it ſhall be the proof of FACT.

Nov. 1779.

(No. 2.)

Silſcet res ipſa aſpera eſt; ſed vos non timetis eam. Immo vere maxume; ſed inertiâ et mollitiâ animi, alius alium expectantes, cunctamini, videlicet diis immortalibus confiſi, qui hanc rempublicam in maxumis ſæpe periculis ſervavere.

THE laſt Thurſday exhibited a ſpectacle which might exerciſe the moſt curious ſpeculation, if its extraordinary miſchief did not demand ſomething more. Let my countrymen briefly contemplate the fact and its circumſtance. If they will not open their eyes, and ſee its monſtrous nature, they muſt inſtantly feel its ruinous conſequence.

A cer-

A certain ſet of perſons have, for many years, been entruſted with the adminiſtration of publick affairs; and certain principles of government have been purſued by the prince, and permitted by the people. During this ſyſtem of men and meaſures, the publick weal has ſuffered gradual, but univerſal decay. Civil diſcords were kindled in the empire, which the miniſters of the ſtate had neither wiſdom to reconcile, nor vigour to ſubdue. Foreign wars threatened. The miniſters of the ſtate neither prevented them by precaution, nor prepared any adequate ſtrength of their country to encounter them. Invited by folly, indolence, and weakneſs, the enemies of Great-Britain united againſt her with the countries ſhe had loſt in her civil diſſentions. The miniſters of ſtate had provided no alliance for their country; to compenſate the loſs of her ancient ſtrength. Thus Great-Britain alone was involved in war againſt the moſt powerful monarchies of Europe, and the Independent States of America. A general campaign enſued, in which, though ſhe eſcaped from immediate ruin by ſignal interpoſitions of

of Providence, ſhe ſuffered fatal loſſes and indelible diſgrace. Some of her moſt valuable iſlands were taken; the fineſt armies ſhe had ever raiſed, at the largeſt expence ſhe had ever ſuſtained, were waſted on impoſſible ſervice; and her fleet was ſaved only by flight into her own harbours. The internal miſchiefs that daily grew under the miniſters of the ſtate, were correſpondent to the external calamities. Ireland was famiſhed, and in arms; Scotland was pampered into inſolence and tumult; and England teemed with deſperate diſcontent. When the miniſters of ſtate had conducted publick affairs to this ſituation, they called on Parliament to congratulate the King on the bleſſings of his reign, and to recogniſe the wiſdom and ſucceſs of *their* adminiſtration—and Parliament complied!

I ſubmitted to my coutrymen, in my laſt paper, that the conduct of their repreſentatives challenges their inſtant animadverſion. When two hundred and thirty-three men are found to aſſert, in Parliament, what no man out of it will gravely maintain in common converſation; it will be mockery of the people

people any longer to denominate ſuch a body the repreſentative of the nation; it will be baſeneſs in the people any longer to endure ſuch a body, without effectual animadverſion and thorough reformation. If any one man, in poſſeſſion of his ſenſes, can be ſelected from the community; if one of the two hundred and thirty-three, any where but within the walls of his priſon; if even the obſequious *commis* who reads this paper to the nodding Prime Miniſter, will declare, without a bluſh or a ſmile, that he thinks him or his aſſociates in power adequate to the truſt of the ſtate; I will join in their praiſe. If ſuch a man can be found, another miracle will follow—The Whig ſhall concur in the praiſe of the preſent miniſters, and the people may conſent to rejoice in their adminiſtration.

It is fit that the people ſhould ſurvey, again and again, this unheard-of abuſe in government, ſince the bloodieſt æra that blots the page of hiſtory. *If* ſuch be the decided contrariety of ſentiment between two hundred and thirty-three legiſlators of England, and every individual of the country; and *if* the body,

body, ſo oppoſed to the whole people, perſiſt in delegating the whole truſt of the ſtate to weak or wicked men, convicted by the evidence of ſenſe of having exhauſted the beſt ſtrength and wealth of the country, and urged by mad deſpair to tear wider her wounds, even to the laſt drop of her blood,—let the hiſtorian of fallen empires diſtinguiſh if he can. Where is the difference in calamitous effect between the Triumvirate of Rome, and a majority of a H**** of C******?—There is *yet* a particular difference between them, he may anſwer truly, as much to be lamented as their general reſemblance. Two of the Roman tyrants paid the debt of their tyranny. But modern times have not yet enforced the demands of humanity; and the *intĕrtia* of the people ſeems indifferent to an Octavius or an Auguſtus.

Beſides the palpable evidence of all the facts of the time, which demanded the vengeance of parliament againſt the authors, the expreſs confeſſion of guilt from the arch-culprit will demonſtrate, in a curious point of view, the juſtice of the tribunal that acquitted and applauded him. *Lord North pleaded*

pleaded guilty to the preſent ſtate and future danger of Ireland. I wiſh to point the attention of my countrymen to this aſtoniſhing inſtance of miniſterial effrontery, and parliamentary acquieſcence. The Prime Miniſter of the State ſaid, on the firſt day of the preſent ſeſſion, "That he did not know the origin of the diſtreſs of Ireland; and that he could not apply a remedy to an unknown diſorder." This eventful ſubject is to be *talked of* towards being entered on, and papers are to be read this day towards its being taken into conſideration. Let us recollect the fact, and judge of the Prime Miniſter. Ireland has been groaning under ruinous diſtreſſes ſince the commencement of the war between Miniſters and America. The ſuppreſſion of her only export-manufacture ſeverely wounded her little induſtry, and almoſt ruined her few manufacturers. A wicked embargo completed her beggary and famine, which ſoon grew univerſal and intolerable. Such was the opportunity of circumſtance in which the Prime Miniſter thought it wiſe to inſult a high-ſpirited people; to deceive them with words,

words, and to incenſe them with new actual injuries. Such was the concurrence of motives on which he thought it ſafe to leave the kingdom of Ireland without defence againſt an invading enemy.

The people of Ireland were exaſperated by their wrongs from the Engliſh Miniſter, which they miſtakenly attributed to the Engliſh Nation:—they unanimouſly aſſociate againſt Engliſh manufactures:—they unanimouſly diſclaim Engliſh law:—*the people aſſume to themſelves the prerogative power of the ſword, of which the Prime Miniſter had diveſted the King:*—and near fifty thouſand men are now in actual and perfect array throughout a country ſmarting with the keeneſt ſenſe of injury;—a country unanimous even to the bench of their empty Treaſury, that nothing ſhort of a FREE TRADE, to and from all parts of the world, and ſubject to no reſtraint but the pleaſure of their own parliament, can redreſs their wrongs, or relieve their diſtreſs.

And now, years after their diſtreſs grew ruinous, the Prime Miniſter tells the Britiſh Parliament, "*he knows nothing of its origin, and*

and can apply no remedy."—And the Britiſh Parliament (ſhall we longer call it the Britiſh Parliament?) rejoice in the bleſſings of his Majeſty's reign, and applaud the wiſdom of his Majeſty's Counſels and Counſellors!

The writer of this paper has too ſtrong cauſe of knowledge *that the friendſhip of Ireland is deſperate to this country,* if the preſent Counſels and Counſellors of the Crown ſhall be longer permitted by the people. He ſubjoins what * he has ſelected from their uniform addreſſes to their Repre-

* "We are therefore confident that if a FREE TRADE, "the only expedient left to avert the impending ruin of "this country, depended on the goodneſs and wiſdom of the "King and the Parliament of Ireland, that event would "immediately take place. But however unconſtitution-"ally the preſent reſtraints on our trade were originally "impoſed, and however well inclined his Majeſty to "aboliſh them, we fear he cannot effect this wiſe purpoſe "without the conſent of the Britiſh Parliament; a body to "whoſe *power* we are no ſtrangers, but with whoſe *juſtice* "we are totally unacquainted; and we likewiſe fear that "the conſent of the Britiſh Parliament depends on the "humour of the *Britiſh Miniſter,—a character yet unknown* "*to the confidence or gratitude of this country.*"

[Extract from "Unanimous Addreſs, &c. of the county of the town of Carrickfergus to their Repreſentatives." Nov. 4, 1779.]

ſentatives,

ſentatives, as expreſſive of the determined ſpirit of them all.

November 30, 1779.

(No. 3.)

The King can do no Wrong.

WHEN a Prince of the Houſe of Hanover wears the Crown of Great-Britain, the WHIG is not aſhamed to confeſs his prejudice. He would preſume, from the former Princes and principles of that Houſe, to the preſent; and his predilection is anxious to believe, in the full extent of the maxim, perſonal as well as political, *that the King can do no wrong.*

But when a monarch in this country, ſprung from whatever line, adorned with whatever hopes from the glories of his anceſtry, or his own original virtues, perſiſts

in counſels that do grievous wrong, and threaten inſtant ruin; affection is loſt in duty. Duty to the country demands diſcuſſion of a maxim, which, if the conſtruction of the Court were permitted, would ſanctify every publick crime, and eſtabliſh publick calamity. Duty to the Prince, as part of the conſtitution formed by the people, enjoins conſtitutional explanation to him of a phraſe, which flattery has rendered fatal to tyrants.

When it is truly ſaid that the King can do no wrong, the office is intended, and not the perſon; and this true conſtruction is the perfect praiſe of our admirable conſtitution. The King of England can do no wrong; for it is not the office of the King *to do* any thing. The cautious wiſdom of our policy will not permit the King to act. It not only ſuppoſes, but requires that ability ſhall be ſelected from the people to execute the active duties of the ſtate. Even in the ſelection of ſuch active ability for publick ſervice, the King, as we are now conſidering him, cannot do wrong. For the conſideration ſuppoſes him in his conſtitutional publick character;

character; a character conferred on him conditionally by the people. It is impoſſible, therefore, in conſtitutional contemplation, that a *King of England* ſhould appoint incapable or unworthy men to adminiſter publick affairs; or, if appointed, that the *People of England* ſhould permit them to be retained; that a free people ſhould ſacrifice their original rights and conſtitutive power to ſuch abuſe of the kingly office. The unfairneſs of arguing from ſuch abuſe is evident. The kingly office, ſo abuſed, would no longer belong to the conſtitution. It is a monſtrous caſe, and out of the ſuppoſition of fair reaſoning.

Such being the genuine ſenſe of the maxim, the corollary obſervation that is formed upon it appears equally juſt and neceſſary; that the miniſters of executive power are reſponſible to the people: and their reſponſibility was formerly through the medium of parliament.

The office of King being thus conſidered, I truſt with dûe reſpect; for I think it receives the higheſt, when defined as part of the conſtitution; it remains to remind the

perſon appointed to that office, that he is a man;—that in his perſonal capacity he may, he muſt *do wrong;* for error is eſſential to humanity. It remains to demonſtrate to him, that whoever confounds his perſon with his office, is a fatal enemy to both; for that they are ſo perfectly diſtinct in their nature, attributes, and intereſts, that the abuſe of the one, is expiable only by the puniſhment of the other. The conſtitution will not admit that *the King* did wrong; and the law ſays, that *the King* never dies: but *Charles Stuart* was an obſtinate tyrant; and *Charles Stuart* loſt his head.

No more then let a maxim founded in the very bottom of conſtitutional liberty, be forced to a conſtruction which would ſhake and endanger it. No longer let the law of the conſtitution, which would preſerve ſacred the office of the King, be perverted to the deſtruction of the man.

Another tenet of court-craft, new in the politicks of this country, is not leſs dangerous to its profeſſors than the perverſion of the royal maxim that has been conſidered. As

Kings

Kings believed they could not individually do wrong, Miniſters now flatter themſelves that *majorities in parliament can make wrong right;* and from them they hope, not only their own exculpation, but perfect eſtabliſhment of their arbitrary ſyſtem.

It will not be difficult to demonſtrate the folly, as well as the wickedneſs, of ſuch a principle; and to prove, to the utter deſpair of arbitrary men, that the ſeeds of *revolution* have been more immediately ſown, and with more certainty of inſtant growth and effect, by the Miniſters of the preſent King, than by any inſtruments of tyranny in former times.

The poſition which I maintain, and ſhall prove, in contradiction to their parliamentary confidence, is this; *that majorities in parliament are certainly ruinous to the Sovereign and his Miniſters, in proportion to the ſupport they are induced to give them, in perſiſting againſt the ſenſe of the people.*

I ſhall, in my next paper, conſider the fact, as it has occurred in America and Ireland; and then, if *our* Whig-ſpirit be not extinct, and if ſimilar cauſes produce

similar effects, *let the executive power tremble in Great-Britain.*

December, 1779.

(No. 4.)

This glorious spirit of WHIGGISM, *animates millions in America, who prefer poverty with liberty to gilded chains and sordid affluence; and will die in defence of their rights as men,—as freemen,—What shall resist this spirit?—Ireland they have to a man.*

Jan. 20, 1775. LORD CHATHAM.

HOWEVER congenial his mind to the spirit triumphant in a neighbouring kingdom, emulous of the glories as she was participant in the injuries of the western empire, grievous yet is the pang which every lover of his country feels in this degraded island. For the triumph of Liberty is now the disgrace of

of England. America is victorious and free. Ireland, without the trouble of victory, enjoys all its conſequence and glory. She diſplays the banner of independence; her armies appear; and England ſurrenders at diſcretion.

England, the arbitreſs of empire,—England, the diſpenſer of the power and guardian of the rights of nations;—England, the wonder and terror of the world—what art thou now! Diſabled, diſhonoured, fallen; deſperate of aſſiſtance from friends, for you have none; or of ſucceſs againſt enemies, for you failed when you were ſtronger, againſt adverſaries leſs numerous or powerful:—too little for conſideration in a ſcale of the balance which you once held and adjuſted; and remembered only in the ridicule of Europe; vanquiſhed by your Colonies, to whom you ſued in vain for mercy; and ſubdued even by the aſpect of Ireland, to her abſolute command.

Love of our country cannot be extinguiſhed in the hearts of Engliſhmen; and care of what we love compels us to ſave it from utter deſtruction. Though the

ſenſe

ſenſe of glory were dead throughout the people, yet, if the common and firſt principles of nature, ſelf-defence and ſelf-preſervation, be not extinct among us, the period of revolution and revenge is at hand. The publick ſenſe was dull to the diſtant miſchief; but preſent calamity ſtrikes ſtrongly and ſuddenly. — Three months nurſed the American lie; but the Miniſter cannot falſify Ireland. Three days detect him, and demonſtrate the glories of that country, and the diſgrace of this; her independence, and our ſubmiſſion. We feel her torn from our ſide, and we bleed at every vein.

Such feeling is too poignant for patience. It rouſes to action every remaining nerve of our ſtrength, to reſcue from inſtant loſs the little that is left; to preſerve domeſtic ſecurity, though we have thrown away empire; to entruſt the ſacred relick to hearts that know its value, and hands that can defend it; and, above all, piouſly to perform the rites of the conſtitution; appeaſing, by exemplary juſtice, the indignant manes of our power and our glory.

But

But in this neceſſary courſe of national juſtice, much difficulty is to be encountered from the generous prejudices of Engliſhmen. In favour of Miniſters? No man will imagine it, in a reign, which has rendered ſynonimous the odium of the country and the favour of the crown. The fate of ſuch favourites as have never before ſtained the annals of any reign in any country, will be unparalleled in hiſtory. Unqualified by any ſentiment of reſpect for talents, admiration of magnanimity, or pity of any one virtue, the publick execration that ſpares them not in their power, will overwhelm them in their fall;—the contempt that purſues them now, will inſpire peculiar indignation then, that ſuch uſurpers of power ſhould have been enabled and permitted ſo to fall;—with the blind deſpair, but without the ſtrength of the ſtrong man, ſo to drag into ruin the mighty fabrick of the Britiſh empire.

But difficulties of an high and delicate nature will ariſe in effecting the revolution of our liberties. They have ariſen elſewhere; but the neceſſity of the commonwealth has ſurmounted them. Founded, however,

however, in the generoſities of ancient attachment, I know they are found in the heart of every Engliſhman.

Eighteen years of tory-rule cannot have entirely detached the Whigs of England from the Houſe of Hanover. The memory of an illuſtrious anceſtry, and gratitude to their virtues, muſt qualify reſentment of preſent wrongs, with an affectionate kind of ſorrow; and ſorrow, in generous minds, ſoon grows to pity. Crimes then are loſt in misfortunes; or, if remembered, we wiſh to reclaim rather than to puniſh. Or even if obſtinacy be irreclaimable, we have ſtill ſome hope in the future, from our knowledge of the paſt. A diſhonoured reign may paſs away in our annals, like a cloudy day in ſummer; and if the day be not too long, nor the tempeſt too violent, the glories of the ſucceeding morning may anſwer our hopes, and renew our happineſs.

But to tranquiliſe, if poſſible, the preſent ſcene, by reconciling our affection to a particular family, with our duty to the country, let us endeavour to win attention before we force it. Let us convince by reaſon rather than

than by power; and try to prevent the miſchief by the example of others, rather than correct it by our own.

It was propoſed in my laſt paper to conſider the fact of diſunion from this country, as it has occurred in America and Ireland, in demonſtration of the maxim that I there advanced againſt the parliamentary confidence of arbitrary men. From the fatal example of thoſe countries, I undertook to prove, *that majorities in parliament are ruinous to the Sovereign and his Miniſters, in proportion to the ſupport they are induced to give them againſt the ſenſe of the people.*

In America the people were unanimous againſt certain powers claimed by their late king, and attempted to be exerciſed by his miniſters: but the monarch perſiſted againſt his people; and has loſt his American throne. So far the fact ſtands undiſputed. Now let us conſider whether the miniſters and their majorities in parliament have not affected the ruin of his royalty, while they flattered his ambition, and ſeemed to ſupport his power.

It

It is beyond any common calculation of obſtinacy, that the American war would have been perſiſted in, if the monarch had not been infatuated by thoſe monſtrous majorities which his miniſters, by every monſtrous means, procured in parliament. I ſay by every monſtrous means: for beſides the court-corruption that prevails in all caſes, new and unheard-of wickedneſs prevailed in this. Falſification of fact was not indeed new in the miniſter; but in the magnitude of this inſtance, it took peculiar criminality. Suppreſſion of every truth, univerſal fraud, and baſeſt miſrepreſentation, blinded the reaſon of men; while every ſeductive and inflammatory art perverted and poiſoned their paſſions. Without ſuch impulſe, no monarch, however blind or obſtinate, would have perſiſted in ſuch a war; without ſuch ſupport, he could not have drawn the ſword from year to year againſt his people.

But even if ſuch had been the ſituation; if without the fiction of parliamentary ſanction, the royal ſtandard had been erected againſt

againſt the liberties of America, he could not have loſt his American Crown more abſolutely than he has by act of parliament. I believe he would not have loſt it ſo certainly. America would have conquered the King, and more ſpeedily perhaps than ſhe conquered the King and Parliament; but her magnanimity might have forgotten the idle ambition of a fooliſh Prince; though ſhe will never forgive, in prudence or in ſpirit, the formal tyranny of a grave Legiſlature.

My reader may have been ſurprized and ſhocked, when I aſſerted the fact of Ireland being now diſunited from this country; becauſe he may have liſtened to the tales of Miniſters, and the impudent inventions of their advocates. But I aſſert again and again, that Ireland is at this moment in an actual ſtate of diſunion from us; diſunion of commerce, diſunion of finance, diſunion of military ſtrength, and diſunion of national affection. Such is the fact; and therefore I expect to hear the Miniſter aſſure Parliament of the contrary.

If

If Parliament continue any faith in the wiſdom or truth of the man, whoſe folly and fallacies miſled them to caſt America from us, the preſent diſunion of Ireland, which their marked ſervility to him at the cloſe of laſt ſeſſion has already produced, and their prepoſterous ſupport of him at the beginning of this, has already ſtrongly confirmed, will be ratified for ever. I ſtate the fact of their reſentment, without now going into the diſcuſſion of their wrongs: but their reſentment is expreſly and pointedly againſt the Britiſh Parliament. They exhauſt all their eloquence againſt it in their debates; and when they want terms to expreſs its tyranny, its avarice, its inſenſibility to every thing honourable or juſt, they ſay that the Britiſh Parliament and the Britiſh Miniſter are ſynonimous.

December 1779.

(No.

(No. 5.)

Incidit in Scyllam.

I Deſire to rectify ſome miſrepreſentation which may have ariſen on my ſtate of the preſent ſituation of Ireland, in my laſt paper, both as to the nature of the fact, and the view with which it was there advanced.

When I aſſerted that Ireland was actually diſunited from this country, in commerce, eſtabliſhment, and in affection; I did not ſtate a diſunion ſo unfortunate with any triumph, or wiſh to confirm it. It was to prevent the continuance of a ſituation ſo fatal to us, that the fact was pointed out as it exiſted. While I admired the riſing glories of that country, I deſcribed truly the rapid fall of this; not for the purpoſe of odious and diſgraceful compariſon; not to inſult England with her misfortunes; but to rouſe her from ruin by the demonſtration of herſelf and Ireland. Seeing and feeling

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the diſgrace in which we are entangled, the victorious example of popular ſpirit in Ireland ought to be no mean additional incentive to us. The people there have exerted their original energy, to effect a revolution which nothing but the omnipotence of an unanimous people could produce. They have recovered commerce and liberty; and, in contempt of the little forms and ceremonies of conſtitution, perverted and abuſed as they had been againſt the publick weal, they have eſtabliſhed an invincible force to maintain their recovered rights.

As to the nature of the diſunion actually exiſting in the reſpects that have been mentioned, it is our happineſs to know that it is a forced and monſtrous ſituation; compelled into its preſent exiſtence by temporary cauſes alone, which the breath of the people can ſweep away for ever; and redeeming the juſtice and honour of our national character, cement on an enlarged baſis the connected ſtrength of Great-Britain and Ireland.

To thoſe who have not long had the misfortune of ſeeing and hearing the Miniſter,

ſter, eſpecially in the propoſal of conciliatory plans, it would appear extraordinary that his firſt ſtep towards the adjuſtment of a diſpute, ſhould be not only a ſtudious miſrepreſentation of its principle, but an abſolute falſification of the manner in which that principle is profeſſed and maintained. Pretending to open the door of conciliation, he lays a ſtumbling block at the threſhold. He ſaid, "that Ireland *petitioned* for a *favour*;" and leſt the miſrepreſentation ſhould fail of effect, he repeated and enforced it. "It is *not a demand*, (continued his Lordſhip) of any conſtitutional *right*;—they petition, *humbly* and dutifully petition, as a favour from this country, the extenſion of their trade." To a whole people, unanimous in the ſentiment that what they wiſh for *is their right*, their right by nature, recognized by the law of their country, and founded in their conſtitution; it would not ſeem the reconciling language of policy to ſay that they have no juſt claim whatever; and that every thing they obtain, will be merely through charity and favour. But to an united people,

zealous in active support of their sentiments, associated, to a man, in every strong measure that the most determined spirit can suggest, glowing with emulous patriotism that kindles throughout the country;—to a people arrayed in their own arms,—it is the language of madness to impute the passiveness of petition,—the humbleness of beggary.

Utterly ignorant, as the Prime Minister professed himself, of the most important question that the narrowed limits of our empire will now admit, silence, on a subject so delicate as the *rights* of kingdoms, was doubly his duty. For though he were master of the theory, and could enforce the fact, it were surely an unwise discussion, and a dangerous exercise of power; beyond comparison more dangerous towards Ireland, than it could at first appear towards America. I do not unnecessarily enter into the question of comparative strength at the respective periods. The impotence of this reduced country is notorious; and it were loss of argument to go into a proof of our imbecility to any *offensive* purpose, when the

the Prime Miniſter, within theſe two days, has told the Iſland of Jamaica, " he cannot promiſe any *defenſive force for that ſtation*, knowing it, as he ſays, to be the moſt important, and *wiſhing*, moſt unimportantly, that he was able to ſecure it;" and when the preſiding Lord of the Admiralty inſults the planters and merchants that apply to him, with their folly in ſuppoſing that he could protect them.

I ſpeak of the eſtabliſhed principle of every man in Ireland, *the principle of independence on the Parliament of this country*. I know that the ſame principle was imputed to America; but it was falſely imputed. The ingenuity of Lord Mansfield failed to give it ſemblance; and the Chief Juſtice was detected in the forged record he produced to prove it. But in Ireland the fact is certain and univerſal, and therefore the Miniſter ſtudiouſly contradicts it. He determines the diſtreſs of his country by inflexible perſeverance againſt truth, whether he aſſerts or denies. He would aſſert, that the American principle was independence on the Britiſh Parliament, while all America

remonſtrated the contrary;—and he has loſt America.—He denies that Ireland has any ſuch principle, when every man in Ireland is ready to draw his ſword in defence of it.

It might be hoped that no man could be found ſo obſtinately ſenſeleſs as to perſevere in a ſyſtem ſo impoſſible,—to ſupport the ſupremacy of his parliament, when he has thrown away the power of his country. Such *bruta fulmina* are become ridiculous in Europe.

As to the ſubſtance of the propoſed conceſſions to Ireland; I am ready to acknowledge what muſt have been expected by every one who knew the Miniſter. It is not ſurpriſing that the man, who, after binding himſelf, by the obligation of honour, never to concede any thing to America, ſupplicated her the next year to accept every thing, no ceſſion ſhould now make large and ſubſtantial compenſation to Ireland, becauſe he had, laſt year, in perſon, prevented her ſlighteſt ſatisfaction. It is for Parliament to contemplate the dilemma to which this Miniſter has reduced them. If they concur with his preſent propoſition, they determine that the great and extenſive benefit of

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the greateſt trade theſe countries know, is not too much for Ireland, when the deciſion is ſcarcely dry in their ſtatute-book, that the impoſſible growth of a noxious weed was favour enough for that country. If they reject the preſent propoſition, Ireland will reject them for ever: not their power and ſupremacy; for parliamentary dignity is no more, and let Parliament remember the authors of its deſtruction: but every connection and tie of alliance will diſſolve between the countries.

I have ſpoken of the Miniſter's *propoſition*, for only one is worthy conſideration or anxiety. His *glaſs* he confeſſed was a trifle; and his *rum and ſugar*, he proved, were leſs, anticipating the true objection, that the very high propoſed duties, on the direct trade of thoſe articles to Ireland, would burthen them more than the diſadvantages of their preſent circuitous courſe to that kingdom. "But then," ſays this conferrer of *favours*, "it will be optional to the people of Ireland to accept this new mode, or retain the old one." That is, he makes a very generous offer of an injury,

and the people are additionally obliged to him for graciouſly giving them leave to refuſe it.

But the conſideration that I have ſtated, as paramount in the determined ſpirit of Ireland, renders this third propoſition worſe than trifling or uncommercial. The queſtion of ſtate is aſſumed in it; and ſuch aſſumption, retained, will for ever damn all negociation. He propoſes an enacting proviſo in a Britiſh ſtatute, to preſcribe the duties to be impoſed by an Iriſh parliament. The ſecond-hand farce of giving them the form of regiſtering what a Britiſh parliament has dictated, implies a contempt of their underſtanding, that probably will not tend to allay their ſpirit.

It is neceſſary, for the welfare, the peace, the exiſtence of the country, that the parliament and the people ſhould ſee where they are, what they are doing, and with whom they are treating. The Miniſter has no merit in his propoſed conceſſion. It ſtigmatizes *him* more baſely, if poſſible, than all his adminiſtration have been able to do: but among the people a liberal ſpirit has

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gone forth; they will not act from the baſeneſs of fear, but let them entertain this great queſtion with prudence, moderation, and dignity. If it be poſſible, in the preſent fatal criſis, to decide it with due impartiality, with perfect and cool juſtice to the claims of Ireland, and the intereſts of England—where ſhall the vengeance of the people fall?—On the heads of thoſe guilty men who have diſarmed the ſtate of its power—who have corrupted the functions of parliament—WHO HAVE BETRAYED THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

December 13, 1779.

(No. 6.)

To the Right Honourable EDWARD *Lord Baron* THURLOW, *and Lord High Chancellor of England.*

Magnum virum facile dixeris; bonum libenter.

I Have acknowledged your rank, my Lord, and your high titles, with the pleasure that every liberal mind feels in doing justice to an eminent character. Every man is ready to confess that they have been earned by abilities as superior, as the independence and honour ought to be, which alone can dignify their nature, or justify their tenure. But there, my Lord, on that cardinal point, the publick judgment has been long suspended. If I add, that the scale is now rapidly descending against you, and that the wonder of your talents avails only to give weight and acceleration to the censure of your conduct, your Lordship will confess the justice of your country, when you recollect

lect yourſelf, and look round on the men whoſe cauſe you condeſcend to plead.

One of that publick who delighted in admiring, and who now exerciſe with pain their right of judging you, I yet offer myſelf to your Lordſhip as your friend. And though the friendſhip of honeſt reproof be in general equally thankleſs and fruitleſs, I rely on the manlineſs of your mind for its publick effect in this inſtance, and even for your Lordſhip's gratitude.

Before our correſpondence proceeds, let me clear its way to your underſtanding and your approbation.

This letter is written, and unleſs rendered unneceſſary, more ſhall be addreſſed to your Lordſhip, not as a publick man who influences publick affairs, but as the Dictator of the State who decides them; I do not ſay immediately in council, but certainly in effect. Your Lordſhip already underſtands me, and ſo will the people, before our correſpondence cloſes. In the mean time, I ſtate myſelf to your Lordſhip, and my country, not alone juſtified, but impelled to repreſent you to yourſelf, and explain you to the

the publick, in all your preſent power, and all its fatal conſequence; impelled, by what your own nervous eloquence too conſciouſly deſcribes, "the abundant danger and exigence of the time."

I do not argue unfairly with your Lordſhip, when I aſſume the fact of our miſgovernment for the laſt ten years. *I know* the contempt with which the ſuperiority of your mind has looked down on the wretchedneſs of the adminiſtration.

I admire the emphatic zeal for your own dignity with which you have ever diſclaimed all fellowſhip, even perſonal acquaintance,* with the Prime Miniſter. And it was in theſe ſentiments that I hoped, and the publick expected, my Lord, you would have diſdained all continuance of publick connec-

* Lord Thurlow has taken many opportunities of vindicating himſelf on this ſubject. "I have no habits with the Miniſter"—"I do not know Lord North,"—are his expreſſions *(verbatim)* on thoſe occaſions. But, in a more publick ſcene, his determined ſilence on Lord North's *character*, is ſtill more deciſive. He cannot, indeed, reſcue him from the eloquence of Lord Shelburne; but it is the very malice of contempt to leave him to the praiſes of Lord Hillſborough and the Duke of Chandos.

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tion with him. A man of ſpirit, it was concluded that you would not devote yourſelf for ever to puſillanimity and diſhonour; a man of activity and vigour, it was deemed impoſſible that you ſhould be rivetted to indolence and lethargy, and that the only exertion of your great talents ſhould be in defence of ignorance and inſenſibility, which they had attempted in vain to inform and animate.

Such, my Lord, was the perſuaſion of a people, who were willing to confide at leaſt in your magnanimity: and even yet it is hoped, that you will not thwart your nature, becauſe it happens to concur with your duty;—that the natural exertion of your character will not be weakened, from the conſideration that it would ſave your country.

It is not my preſent purpoſe, my Lord, to write the hiſtory of Mr. Thurlow; for my object is purely publick. Totally, therefore, rejecting every *private* anecdote, let us contemplate your preſent publick capacity. If turning the teleſcope for a moment, I deſcry, through the diſtant and diminiſhed

diminiſhed retroſpect, an accidental advocate at a country quarter ſeſſions, it is only to prepare my mind with due wonder for the contraſt of your preſent magnitude. If I recollect the firſt fortuitous ſtep to the houſe of Queenſbury, it is to admire—ſincerely, ſir, to admire,—the ſtrides of your genius, mounting now above the houſe of Bedford. The inferiorities of the portrait are beneath the publick intereſt and the publick eye. *Ex* CAPITE *Herculem.*

At the opening of this ſeſſion, the general ſtate of the kingdom, and the empire, became, as uſual, the ſubject of parliamentary conſideration. The particular topicks, ſince ſelected for eſpecial diſcuſſion, have been the conduct of our miniſters, with reſpect to the kingdom of Ireland, and their management in regard to the publick finance.

In all theſe great conſiderations and diſcuſſions, you have ſtood forth the only champion of the preſent miniſters. For of their own defences, I would in decency ſay nothing. Beſides their being the culprits, and diſentitled to any credit in their aſſertion,

tion, its meanneſs were ſufficient to diſguſt us, and condemn them. Accuſe them of publick crime, of the danger of our iſlands, or the loſs of our territory; they declare with the moſt ridiculous ſolemnity, that it is not the fault of *thoſe who conduct publick affairs as they are*, but *of thoſe who labour to make them otherwiſe*. For their own part, they call God to witneſs, *they know nothing of the matter* *. Demonſtrate their publick peculation;—they deprecate juſtice in the ſame ſpirit of the Old Bailey; in the very language, indeed, of a profligate convict: —*We have robbed the publick; but we have ſquandered the ſpoil;—don't puniſh us, for we ſhall not be able to maintain our families* †.

I aſk pardon from my reader for deſcending to ſuch miſery; rendered worthy of publick notice, only from your ſingular ſupport. No Nobleman, except your

* Lord North *(verbatim)* on the ſtate of Ireland, and the Jamaica papers; and Lord Stormont on every ſubject; eſpecially the *American* queſtion, "For he was ambaſſador at Paris."

† Lord Hillſborough *(verbatim)* in the Houſe of Lords.

Lordſhip,

Lordſhip, has ſtooped to it; no Engliſhman, except yourſelf, has ſo inſulted his country. Even in the Houſe of Commons, none but Scotch lawyers were found hardy enough on that day to inſult this kingdom. And even they, with all the ſervility of their country, and venality of their profeſſion (Mr. Adam, indeed, is but a young practitioner) were forced to confeſs "the *ſluggiſhneſs* of Lord North." They did not poſt from Scotland to applaud the Miniſter, whoſe irreſolution has renewed rebellion in their kirk, and whoſe continued power will add depopulation and famine to their country. No, my Lord, they are too diſcreet. They croſſed the Tweed, according to the diſtinction ſuggeſted by their countryman, and pretty ſteadily adopted ſince, not to defend *miniſters*, but ſupport *government*.—And the doctrine is now eſtabliſhed in practice, by an immediate proficient from Lord Mansfield's ſchool;—*that the only mode of ſupporting Government is to ſlander the People;* to demonſtrate that we have neither virtue, talents, nor ſpirit among us; that we ought, therefore, to endure defeat and diſgrace, as our neceſſary lot, and hew our

wood and draw our water, without repining.

The exclusive infamy of such auxiliaries were itself sufficient to drag down the dignity of any character.—Firmer fame even than yours, if it risqued such ruin, could not escape it. When the Lord High Chancellor of England descends from his presiding seat in the assembly of the nobles, to mix with impudent mercenaries in a cause which every man of honour shrinks from, he forfeits every reputation, and his glory will set more rapidly than it rose. *Descent and fall*, which, with the spirits of Milton, we thought *adverse*, at least to the magnanimity of his character, will grow natural, necessary, and instant, to its abasement. He sinks for ever.

January, 1780.

(No. 7.)

Alas, from what high hope, to what relapſe
Unlook'd for, are we fall'n!

THE facts which have long tended and now combine to give perfection to the arbitrary influence of the crown, may be diſtinguiſhed into two claſſes: the *ancient opportunities of abuſe of government*, unremoved by an imperfect revolution; and, *the modern inventions of power*. It ought not to be wondered at, that the former, which eſcaped the wreck of James's tyranny, ſurvived ſafe and forgotten through the glorious and happy reigns that followed. But it is as much to be lamented, as it is ſenſibly felt, that dormant as they ſeem to have been in the reign of popular princes, they were in fact acquiring ſize and ſtrength, ſufficient to arm the hand of modern power with inſtruments more dangerous to liberty, than the coarſer times of James or Charles had furniſhed.

furniſhed. Thoſe opportunities, and temptations to deſpotiſm, ſeemed to have attained their full maturity at the commencement of the preſent reign. The ſeptennial act of ſuicide, abhorrent certainly from the popular nature of parliament, and deſtructive of its due independence on the crown, had been long perpetrated. Military power and civil influence united to enable the Prince, if he were ſo diſpoſed by nature or education, to oppreſs and corrupt the people, whoſe property and power was leſſened exactly in the proportion that the crown had gained weight and force, by the eſtabliſhment of a ſtanding army, and a national debt. But, above all, the time of his aſcenſion to the throne was full of ſuch peculiar circumſtances of popularity, as gave him unlimited, becauſe unſuſpected, power. Into that auſpicious moment was crouded all the promiſe of his youth; founded in the fond memory of all the virtues of his anceſtors; of his youth, riſing, as it ſeemed, to renew the race of glory that they had run, even up to the recent goal of univerſal conqueſt. Nature and fortune conſpired to

give

give the young Monarch of that day an empire the beſt and moſt permanent that Monarchs can enjoy, if they wiſh to maintain it,—an abſolute power in the hearts of his ſubjects.

Such was the power and the opportunity of exerciſing it, with which his preſent Majeſty aſcended the throne. If it had been the counſel of his reign to improve it into the perfect and reciprocal happineſs of himſelf and his people, the way was not ſteep nor difficult. The virtues of his royal grandfather, the talents of Mr. Pitt, and the genius of England, called into action by them, had ſurmounted the difficulties of war and faction, and corruption; and nothing remained for a prince that wiſhed an honourable and happy reign, but to purſue the path that his anceſtor had trod, with new facility and aſcertained ſucceſs.

But if other counſels were introduced, and other objects propoſed than the mutual intereſts of prince and people, different then muſt have been the means to attain thoſe different ends. Then, inſtead of cultivating the ſalutary fruits of wiſe and happy go-

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vernment, the old weeds of tyranny would be carefully cherifhed and diffeminated, till a new harveft fhould arife, adapted to the feafon, and to the taftes of men, lefs loathfome, but more poifonous and fatal. The unextirpated abufes of former times, mellowed now by age, would be refined into a new and more fubtil fpirit. Then would appear, in fuperaddition to the ancient opportunities of mifgovernment, unremoved by the old Revolution, *the modern inventions of power*, to be removed and annihilated only by a new one.

I will not fay that the counfels early inculcated into the mind of the young Prince, and the young King, were other than doctrines of the pureft liberty; for I never heard the conftitutional lectures which Lord Bute delivered in the clofet. But every Engliſhman will affert what he feels, while freedom of fpeech and fenfe of feeling remain to him; that whatfoever thofe principles were, the effect of them has been extenfion of royal influence, and violation of popular rights: and every man of common fenfe will conclude in argument, that

as falſehood cannot flow from truth, ſo the political effect that has been ſtated as generally felt, cannot be the reſult of the moſt perfect conſtitutional principles.

The diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the preſent reign ſeems to be the new ſpirit in which the members of adminiſtration muſt ſeverally live, move, and have their being. Formerly, Adminiſtration was a body actuated by one ſpirit that pervaded the whole; its members were diſtinct, not ſeparate: the particular function of each was enforced by the correſponding authority of all; and the general object was compaſſed by conſent of parts, giving the additional effort, as nature and reaſon dictate, of united force. Now, our mangled government is in a perpetual ſtate of ſeveralty and diſunion; and, like the Polypus, each wretched part crawls about without power, name, or ſignificance.

But weakneſs alone were not a ſufficient qualification for a modern miniſter. He muſt be actively contemptible, if he expect honour at court. So conſtant encouragement is extended, and always a ready audi-

ence

ence to all the little ſlander of office againſt office; to the whiſper of the Treaſury againſt the American department, or to the lye of the Admiralty againſt them both. Occaſions are ſtudiouſly contrived to bend and ſubdue the ſpirits of men; and thoſe are advanced the higheſt in the ſervice, who have beſt learned the diſcipline of diſgrace. There ſhould be little wonder, that commanders in ſuch a ſervice are ſought for from the ranks.

Virtue, we are told by an admired authority, is the principle of government in republicks; and honour in a monarchy. In a government, therefore, ſuppoſed to unite, and almoſt to identify the properties of both; where the power of the monarch is the conſent of the people; and popular concurrence is regal ſtrength; we might hope for the combined principle of honourable virtue. But if, in fact directly contrary, we find a principle that counterplots and counterworks the beſt and nobleſt affections of humanity, and would annihilate all moral duty and natural connection; a principle that ſevers friend from friend, and ſeduces brother from brother;

that hugs, and betrays, and deſtroys; that drives honour to deſpair, and leaves no alternative to virtue, but infamy or ſuicide; it will not be a very unlogical or uncharitable concluſion to infer, that ſuch a government is neither in the ſpirit of a republick, nor a monarchy; that ſuch a principle cannot be ſuppoſed to be enforced in mere wantonneſs, and without an object; for vice is not its own reward; and, therefore, that deſpotiſm alone is the ſpirit of that government, where ſuch principles and practices prevail.

Beſides the ſeparate and diſhonoured capacity in which modern politicks require Miniſters to depend, not on their virtues or talents, not on popular favour or honourable connection, but on *ſomething elſe* directly oppoſite; towards perfectly eſtabliſhing the new ſyſtem on the ruins of the old, particular innovation of diſgrace was neceſſary in that department of adminiſtration, which the courteſy and the ſucceſs of former times had denominated *the firſt*. The Prime Miniſter was now to be the prime object of contempt. Inſtead of the dignified and official conſequence in parliament, which

which naturally and conſtitutionally would attend a Miniſter of ſpirited talents and popular virtues; our *novus homo* muſt ſubmit to the new penance of his place: deriving no honour from victory, for every man was to know him only as the Adjutant of the troops; but leſt he ſhould imagine himſelf more, or grow by miſtake into any reputation, he was ſtudiouſly to be expoſed in ſituations of diſgrace and diſappointment: in contemptible minorities, without a friend to ſupport or pity him: (I ſpeak of former occaſions, when the court power was ſupreme; for *now* the management of parliament is not quite ſo optional to the ſpirit of St. James's:) ſo that when the parliamentary Miniſter ſeemed to ſail on the full tide of power "to bring America to his feet," whether by Scotch bills of *ſtarvation*, or *his own* conciliatory propoſitions, he was to find himſelf carried away by ſome undercurrent, out of his latitude, and contrary to his reckoning. Real pay indeed was to compenſate the futility of nominal rank; but the private favour was precarious, and the publick odium certain. He was to be

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the Miniſter or the Meſſenger, as the arbitrary whim of the minute ſhould dictate or permit; to have authority enough to effectuate every miſchief that ſhould be commanded, but no power whatever, if by chance he ſhould be inclined to prevent any; juſtly reſponſible for others crimes as well as his own, becauſe their willing inſtrument; the devoted victim of their ambition and his own meanneſs: he was, in fine, to repreſent *the pawn* before the perſon of *the King* *; advanced and protected for a time; but when no longer able to divert or ſuſtain the attack, to be ſwept away from the board for ever, the *enfans perdu* of a deſperate party.

March 1780.

* In alluſion to the Game of Chefs, in which, as has been ſtated in the life of Mr. Boyd, he was ſo eminently ſkilful.

(No. 8.)

THE KING *his own Miniſter.*

WHEN the planters and merchants of Jamaica demanded from the firſt Lord of the Admiralty ſome aſſurance of protection from the fleet of England, Lord Sandwich informed them, "that his was merely an *executive* department." When they waited on the Secretary of State for America, to ſolicit ſome attention from government, Lord George Germain acquainted them, "that every thing had been done that *he* could do." When they called upon the Prime Miniſter for ſome exertion to ſave the iſland, Lord North told them, "he did not know it was in danger; but if it were, *he* could undertake nothing poſitive for its defence: that Lord Sandwich was perfectly right in his politicks; for that the firſt Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretaries of State, and the firſt Lord of the Treaſury, were merely *executive:* the *cabinet muſt determine.*"

Omitting

Omitting for the preſent the characteriſtick conduct of theſe noble perſons on that occaſion; the inſolent levity, the hollow politeneſs, and the laboured nothingneſs; I deſire to faſten my reader's attention to the ſingularity of this ſubject. It is the only article of political communion among the miniſters. In no one ſentiment of politicks do they agree but this, to diſſemble their reſpective reſponſibility, and to load their common maſter with the guilt of all his ſervants: "you cannot ſay *that I did it; the King is his own Miniſter.*"

If it were poſſible to add to the guilt of men who have plundered the property, and openly aſſail the liberty of the people, this additional contempt of the conſtitution of their country would crown their crimes. It is notorious that they have recourſe to it on every criminal and penal part of their conduct or their neglect. It is their conſtant boaſt of impunity. I inquire not whether ſuch a libel on the government of England---a libel ſo *falſe*, my Lord Mansfield, and ſo ſeditious in neceſſary conſequence againſt his crown and dignity, be

ſtamped

ſtamped with the royal *imprimatur;* or whether, as I wiſh may be the fact, it be the forgery of the men who have ſurrounded and betrayed him. They are the publiſhers, if they did not invent or dictate it; and they ſoon will be tried by God and their country.

In this ſhort ſentence is wound up and compreſſed all the myſtery and miſchief of modern politicks. *The King is his own Miniſter.* That is, the whole executive power and adminiſtration of the ſtate is to be placed in hands ſuperior to control; too ſtrong for ordinary reſiſtance, and too ſacred, as is ſuppoſed, for puniſhment. In effect therefore, whenever people can be ſubdued to the practice of ſuch theory, this principle amounts to perfect and complete deſpotiſm. For what is the power of the moſt arbitrary deſpot on earth, other than poſſeſſion of the whole executive ſtrength of the ſtate without check of reſiſtance, or fear of puniſhment?---What truer deſcription can apply to an arbitrary Monarch, than that he is the uncontrolled Miniſter of his own ambition and caprice, in the unjuſt violences of war,

and

and the corruptions and follies of internal government?

I had occaſion in an early paper to diſcuſs the trite and miſunderſtood maxim in the polity of England, *that the King can do no wrong*. While the Engliſh conſtitution is preſerved, it is in its true ſenſe a wiſe and uſeful maxim; but if the monſtrous innovation were tolerated, *that the King is his own Miniſter*, it becomes nonſenſe or tyranny. If he makes no uſe whatever of his miniſterial power, it is abſurd to call him his own miniſter, as it would be ſuperfluous to ſay, that he can do no wrong who does nothing. But if he exert the executive power, perſonally inveſted in him by this tyrannous doctrine, and if that exertion be unpuniſhable and unqueſtionable *becauſe he can do no wrong*, I know no more complete deſcription of arbitrary ſway.

The old Utopia of the controlling care of parliament, of the grand inqueſt of the nation, and the hereditary council of the crown, is very pretty reading, and it is no no more. We may amuſe ourſelves with looking at theſe venerable family-pictures

of

of the conſtitution, the works certainly of eminent maſters, and admire the unfading colours of their fame. But are they more than objects of curioſity, or, at beſt, of empty admiration, out of all modern taſte and reſemblance? In the portrait of Godolphin do we trace the features of Lord North? Was Somers the prototype of the Earl of Mansfield? Is the preſent uſurper of Blenheim, a Duke of Marlborough?

In truth, whoever would now go about to talk of whig-principles in government; inſpired and eſtabliſhed by the honour of the peers, or the virtue of the commons, muſt be a more impudent knave than the majority of either houſe can produce. To prove that the ſun ſhines at midnight is a difficulty too arduous even for "the forehead" (as he himſelf *modeſtly* expreſſes it,) of the Earl of Sandwich. A more practicable, and more wicked courſe is purſued. It were deſperate to appeal to the reaſon of mankind againſt their ſenſes; but appeals to their malignity againſt their reaſon may be attended with ſucceſs. Thus the few advocates who can be induced to plead in ſuch

ſuch a cauſe, never ſhock the common ſenſe of their audience, by endeavouring to prove their friends able or honeſt: they think it decent, and perhaps they have hitherto found it politick, to argue that all other men are equally deſtitute of talents and virtue. This infamous language, chaſtiſed as it has been in parliament by eloquence and refuted by example, would little deſerve the revival of publick indignation, if it were not one of the immediate tenets of that ſchiſmatick hereſy in politicks, *that the King is his own Miniſter.* All popularity of character, and honourable connection, whether of nobles in a ſtate, or of thoſe talents and patriot virtues which conſtitute true nobility, are eternal bars in the way of the arbitrary ſyſtem, which, it has been proved, muſt reſult from that favourite principle. The early excluſion of Mr. Pitt and introduction of the Earl of Bute, were the firſt bitter waters of that fatal fountain, which has almoſt deluged the rights and power of the people. The early and continued ſpirit of ſlander againſt every thing virtuous and honourable, firſt went forth

forth from the new cabinet againſt that great and popular man: becauſe his greatneſs and popularity ſtood in the way of the new principle, *that the King was to be his own Miniſter.* The perſecution and proſcription from royal favour of the whig-families and connections of England, has been uniform; unleſs in one or two exceptions, the ſhort period of which has only ſerved to prove the rule, that whig-principles are inconſiſtent with the new Toryiſm, *that the King is his own Miniſter.*

It is neceſſary for the people of England, riſing as they now are with yeoman-virtue throughout the country, in vindication of their ancient rights in their property and liberty, to beware of the full extent of this malignant principle. In its full extent, it ſubverts every ſecurity of publick liberty, while the forms of the conſtitution remain. If the King be his own Miniſter, and if thoſe who fill the offices of ſtate be, as Lord Sandwich and Lord North affirm, merely *executive;* all due and regular reſponſibility is loſt. Thirteen provinces and the fleet of England

England may be ſold to France; the people muſt ſubmit to poverty, and hug their eternal chains; for no change of counſel can recover their empire, their power, or their liberty. They can infuſe no popular ſupport, nor popular ſucceſs in conſequence, into a new Adminiſtration;—for, the King is his own Miniſter. *Obſtinate* adherence, therefore, to ſuch a principle, induces the inevitable alternative of ſlavery in the people, or the perſonal reſponſibility of Majeſty. The latter has a precedent in our hiſtory; the former has no example.

March, 1780.

(No. 9.)

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly ſhaken or weakened, (which are Religion, Juſtice, Counſel, and Treaſure,) men had need to pray for fair weather.

LORD Bacon well knew that the definition of terms is neceſſary, in proportion to the importance of the ideas they ſignify, and therefore was careful to explain their meaning in the important inſtance before us. The paſſions and political manners of men being alike in all ages, the ſame caution is no leſs requiſite to modern politicians, than to the hiſtorian of Empſon and Dudley. For this purpoſe, it would prevent much perplexity in diſcourſe, if all men enjoyed the ſame advantages of political accuracy that the royal family has received. At St. James's, I ſuppoſe, for inſtance, they underſtand perfectly what puzzles a country gentleman, that the *only patriotiſm* is *ambition of power*. For ſo it is there profeſſed to be, in *the patriot* of the court; and underſtood,

derſtood, therefore, naturally enough by the conſcious courtier, to be the ſame in the patriots of the people. The country wants alſo an edict definitive of *whiggiſm;* for what contradiction and counteraction may not enſue from the preſent miſtakes? If, for example, the Archbiſhop of York, and the Baronet of Yorkſhire, were to diſcuſs that ſubject, what a pleaſant play it would be at croſs purpoſes? While the whig-creed of his Grace anathematiſed the name of "liberty," and conſigned its raving advocates to the ſtrait-waiſtcoat; Sir George's ignorance, uninſtructed by this accurate political prelate, might imagine Archbiſhop Laud a due expiation for the errors of the Prince, and the violated rights of the people.

Above all, it is neceſſary, at this moment, the publick ſhould underſtand the court-conſtruction of ſedition and rebellion.

As the right reverend authority I have quoted, has defined *liberty* to nothing; another high authority, *a ſecretis* of the crown, has explained to the people their crime in imagining they had any right in their *pro-*

perty. The 20th of George III. explains and amends the 25th of old Edward; and we are now taught, from the foot of the throne, that to petition the legiſlature for publick œconomy, is factious and ſeditious; that to conſult and confer towards promoting the object of ſuch petitions, is rebellious and treaſonable. The experience of this auſpicious Miniſter in ſubjects of this nature, has happily recommended him to power, at a period, when a temper leſs moderate than his Lordſhip's, or principles leſs popular, might have inflamed the people to ſome dangerous exertion of reſentment.

Other terms of art remain, which happily begin to be better underſtood. The appellation of *King's friends,* which at firſt created ſome confuſion, while popularity lingered in the circle, is now known to be ſynonimous with the *enemies of the people.* This ſpecial definition is admitted on all ſides; and it is extremely uſeful in the preſent political diſcuſſions. When the term occurs, we can argue upon it clearly; and when the perſons and their principles come forward to the publick, we can act deciſively: we

know what we have to encounter; we ſee what we muſt ſubdue.

It is in this ſpirit of clearneſs and deciſion that the people muſt co-operate with their friends againſt their enemies. And it is with perfect ſincerity that I pay my poor tribute of gratitude to the miniſters of corruption and the abettors of arbitrary power, for their publick profeſſion at laſt of their cauſe and their principles; for the opportunity they have given us of encountering them fairly. They ſtrain every nerve of power, they exhauſt every ſource of influence, openly and avowedly againſt the voice of the people. I will not praiſe their prudence; but I admire their boldneſs in ſuch a cauſe. They come down from their 'vantage ground of high places and parliamentary majorities; they come out of their dark receſſes; and are hardy enough to meet the people of England, hand to hand, on the ground of the conſtitution.

In the eve of ſuch a conteſt, though its victorious iſſue be certain in favour of the people, yet ſuch muſt be the violence of the ſtorm, that all good men are anxious

in

in their "prayers for fair weather." But it is almoſt a deſperate prayer, if the wiſdom at the head of my paper be true; if we know that ſelf-preſervation is the firſt law; and if we caſt our eyes around us. When we view the great edifice of government; and when, inſtead of its legitimate ſupports of treaſure and counſel, and juſtice and religion, we ſee Lord North, and Lord Mansfield, and Lord Sandwich, can we doubt the danger? is not the ruin certain, if we madly ſubmit our ſafety to ſuch ſupport?

It is my purpoſe to examine and detect the reſpective rottenneſs of theſe ruinous pillars of our ſtate; to demonſtrate its danger, and the neceſſity of aſſociating firmly the publick ſtrength to ſave it in its fall.

February, 1780.

(No. 10.)

Ad homines.

I Have carefully collected, and now submit to publick attention, a few of the sentiments avowed by Ministers and their friends, on the subject of this day's debate. As the debate will be attended *with consequences,* the people should know the principles of their antagonists; the consequence will then be clear in argument, as to the thing; and just in fact, as to the person.

Lord North. "The influence of the Crown is not too great—there are many gentlemen who think it is not great enough. *Publick œconomy* is certainly extremely requisite to the well-being of the state; and the plan of reformation proposed by the honourable gentleman, is the most ample, the most able, the most perfect that ever I heard: I certainly will not oppose it *now,* but I do not pledge myself that I shall not oppose it hereafter." Accordingly he has,

with

with all his power, delayed and obſtructed his progreſs; and *now* avows his oppoſition to every principle and every part of it. (Under this head of *his Lordſhip*, an inſtance of miniſterial *ingenuity* ought to be recorded. When he loaded Mr. Burke, and his bill with praiſes, "But, added this ingenious Miniſter, the plan is totally diſtinct from the county petitions; it is contrary to the wiſhes of the people." Then, my Lord, be conſiſtent, and permit it to proceed; for you tell *them* and Sir George Saville, "a ſtop muſt be put to their demands; and that the penſion-liſt ſhall neither be retrenched nor known.")

LORD NUGENT. "It would be highly improper to reſtore independency to parliament, by leſſening the influence of the crown."

LORD MULGRAVE. "Let the people and their factious demagogues take care, *as they have ſinned without provocation, they ſhould be puniſhed without pity.*"

LORD HILLSBOROUGH. "The petitioners are factious and ſeditious; and their proceedings tend to anarchy and rebellion."

(But,

(But, to do this noble Lord juſtice, *circular letters* are not the only record he would falſify or evade. He endeavoured laſt Monday to retract his words; and mark how he mended the matter! "we ſhall for ever perplex and deſtroy debate, if we refer to former days; *it is impoſſible to recollect the words* of a former debate; *but I am ſure* I did not uſe *the word* "petitioners," I uſed the word *petitions*, and *I only* ſaid, that the motion of the noble Lord (Lord Shelburne) would produce *factious petitions.)*

LORD STORMONT. "It is the moſt unconſtitutional attempt, contrary to the bill of rights, &c. &c. &c. for the people, or any aſſembly of the people, or *any man among the people* (take care, Mr. Fox) to influence parliament by reference to, or comments on, their debates. The *influence of the Crown*, in the exerciſe of its diſcretion, is not cognizable by Parliament; *for it would ceaſe to be a diſcretional exerciſe, if it were ſubject to parliamentary diſcuſſion.*"

LORD BATHURST. "Whatever *county meetings* may be held, whatever *aſſociations of the people* may be carrying on, I ſhall think

it

it *my duty* (he is Prefident of the Council!) to oppofe whatever tends to fubvert the conftitution, and fhake the crown on the head of his prefent Majefty."

LORD THURLOW. "I admit *œconomical reform* is the wifh of the people,—in general; but not with the particularity that is pretended: for I deny that the perfons whofe names are annexed to *the petitions that are hawked about from alehoufe to alehoufe*, have or can have knowledge of the objects that the refpective claufes regard. That fuch perfons fhould have knowledge, of fuch a nature! It is not poffible; and that's one reafon, my Lords, that it is not true. Of the *influence of the Crown*, it will be difficult to *prove that it is greater now than in the reign of King William. Let it ftand*, that the fituation of the great branch of our legiflative, inveſted as it is with executive power, the gift and the taking away of great and numerous places, is and *muſt be a fituation of great power and influence*."

LORD CHATHAM. "If they thus perfevere in mifleading and mifadvizing the King, I will not fay that they can alienate the affections

affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce, *that the kingdom is undone.*"

March, 1780.

(No. 11.)

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of England, and the Sixteen Peers of Scotland.

—*Not as a boundary between the power of the Prince, and the weakness of the People, but as the link which connects them both.*

My Lords,

URGENT as the business of the time has been, since I had the honour of addressing the noble and learned Speaker of your Assembly,

Aſſembly, I preſume that apology is requiſite rather for my long omiſſion than my preſent attention to your Lordſhips. Now, indeed, it were unpardonable not to advert to the eventful importance of your ſituation: and of whatever conduct you ſhall be pleaſed to purſue. You hold at this moment the balance of peace in England.

But before we conſider the extraordinary opportunity of your preſent power, it may be proper to pay ſome attention not only to your preſent but your former and uniform character, in order to remove ſome extraordinary ſuſpicions which have moſt unjuſtly been imagined againſt you. Your Lordſhips would hardly conceive the ſtrange nature of theſe ſcandals, if you had not received ſome knowledge of them from an exalted and learned perſon among yourſelves. Peers of ancient rank, the faithful repreſentatives of illuſtrious and whig predeceſſors, could ſcarcely believe that imputations were entertained againſt them of a deſign to impair the juſt power of the Crown, and to undermine the throne that their anceſtors had eſtabliſhed; 'till they had

had the aſtoniſhing proof of a formal accuſation, from the keeper of his Majeſty's conſcience. Other of your Lordſhips, whoſe political opinion and wiſhes, on motives of honourable conviction, doubtleſs have concurred with the ſentiments of the court rather more than the whig families of the country have found proper to do, muſt have been at leaſt equally ſurpriſed, to hear of the immediate danger to monarchy, from the hoſtile encroachments of the nobles. How did the meek ſpirit of the Right Reverend Bench wonder at the new revelations of the learned Lord; when inſtead of their wonted chriſtian *ſubjection to the powers that be,* they found themſelves metamorphoſed into "a four ariſtocracy;" confederated with the Sixteen Peers of Scotland, againſt the head of the church and Sovereign of the State. Fortunately theſe charges furniſh their own refutation in the immediate conſequence they are intended to produce; for while this great criminal judge of equity arraigns you of ſuch dangerous deſigns againſt the King's power, he infers and is always juſtified, in fact, however

ever ſtrange the argument may ſeem, that you are, *therefore*, to ſubmit your honour and parliamentary independence to the abſolute and unqueſtionable diſcretion of the Crown. The *four ariſtocracy* with which he begins his proceſs ſoon loſes its aceſcent quality, and reſolves at laſt into all the ſweets of ſubmiſſion.

In juſtice to the publick, of which your Lordſhips conſtitute ſo honoured a part, I have deſired to vindicate your innocence, as it deſerves, againſt theſe injurious aſperſions; and I truſt that the other inſinuations of that learned perſon againſt your honour, ingredients, as it were, of the four ariſtocracy which he ſuppoſed, will be found equally groundleſs. I cannot conceive, for inſtance, the Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, whom he deſpiſes and defends, is authoriſed, by the example of any of your Lorſhips, *to fight, at the head of rotten boroughs, againſt the counties of England.* "When the lapſe of time," as the learned Lord expreſſed it, devolves to individual noblemen a power of nominating members of Parliament, though ſome of his friendſhips may have

have afforded him much electioneering experience; yet I can ſcarcely believe even his learned authority, that any of your Lordſhips would fight your rotten boroughs, or fabricate your rotten proteſts, againſt the landed intereſts and landed ſenſe of England. Let us rather ſuppoſe, according to ſome examples which this country gratefully acknowledges, that when ſuch patronage veſts in the perſons of the nobles, it will be exerciſed, not more for their own honour, than for the happineſs of the people: let us hope, in conformity to thoſe illuſtrious examples, that the nobles of this country forget not they are citizens, but that, feeling the ſpirit of popularity pervade their order, as it muſt pervade and animate every order in a free government, they gladly reciprocate to the people authority and ſupport; knowing that the beſt exertion of their influence for the publick cauſe, is to eſtabliſh their firm connection on the ground of honour, cemented only by publick and conſiſtent principle. Such nobles think it their beſt ſervice to fill their phalanx, and fight under the ſame banner, with

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the beſt abilities and virtues of the country; with men, whoſe unremitted and unrewarded labours, in every capacity they have ſtood in, have given honour to private ſtation, and profeſſion, and added luſtre to the moſt illuſtrious.

When ſuch connections are ſo confirmed, they are too ſtrong for the ambition of power to break, and too virtuous for corruption to undermine, or for calumny to traduce. They are in its true and genuine ſenſe, the *ariſtocracy* of a free country, or, as a modern eloquent authority well defined it, *the union of the beſt men againſt the worſt*, in ſupport of the rights both of the Crown and the People. They are not that monſtrous and baſtard ariſtocracy, ſour indeed, and bitter both to the people and the prince; which would ſubdue both to its own avarice and ambition, which forbore not to inſult the perſon of majeſty in gratification of its own pride, as it has uniformly trampled on the liberties of England in purſuance of the Scotch ſyſtem. Of ſuch an ariſtocracy, if any *diſjecta membra* yet remain; if ſome have pretended to ſeparate from counſels, in which

which they profeſs no man of conſcience or honour can act, and yet continue in effect to ſupport thoſe counſels; if others, with the completeſt contempt for the perſon of the Miniſter, as eminent and high-minded talents muſt contemn diſhonour, yet continue to ſcreen his meaſures from publick indignation; if they defend him by decrying the publick voice, and vilifying the petitions of the people, avowing the increaſed and increaſing influence of the crown againſt the independency of parliament, your country conjures you, my Lords, to beware of ſuch men. Maintain the true honours of your Houſe, the noble and hereditary eſtate of a free Legiſlature, againſt ſuch men and ſuch conduct.

The importance of this conſideration of your Lordſhips' character, ſacred as it ought to be without doors as well as within, has led me into greater length than I foreſaw. For the preſent, therefore, I poſtpone my other conſideration of the extraordinary and eventful ſituation in which your Lordſhips at preſent ſtand. I poſtpone it the more willingly, becauſe this day will complete the meaſure

meaſure of its importance. The repreſentatives of the people, as the Houſe of Commons have at laſt approved themſelves, will this day again defeat the Miniſter of the Crown. It will then be in the wiſdom of your Lordſhips to decide between the deſpair of deſpotiſm and the triumph of popularity; to flatter with a faint and falſe hope the gaſps of ambition, or to facilitate and partake, what you cannot prevent, THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE.

March 20, 1780.

THE WHIG's ADDRESS.

TO

The Memorable Hundred & Eighty-eight.*

GENTLEMEN,

AS you do not yet know the duty of the day, permit me to pre-occupy your attention with a few obſervations on the nature of the ſervice you may poſſibly be ordered upon, and to repreſent to your intereſt the alternative conſequence of your obedience or diſobedience to ſuch orders.

A bill has been brought into parliament, to effect a reformation in the publick œco-

* The number of members of the Houſe of Commons who voted againſt Sir George Saville's motion, for a liſt of all the ſubſiſting penſions granted by the Crown. The motion was made on the 15th day of February, 1780; but by the ſudden illneſs of the Speaker, the debate was poſtponed to the 21ſt of the ſame month; when the motion was negatived by a majority of TWO only; the minority being 186, and the majority 188.

nomy, both of the purſe and the government of the ſtate. That a bill, whoſe direct objects are the property and liberty of the people, ſhould be the anxious hope of a people impoveriſhed, and almoſt enſlaved, is not extraordinary. That a bill, of ſuch a deſcription, is the antipathy of a corrupted and corrupting Adminiſtration, is certain. Fear, however, compelled their acquieſcence in the firſt inſtance; and it was determined, (moſt of you now know it) only to ſuggeſt delay; to wait for occaſion; and to ſeize the firſt that ſhould offer, of annihilating the bill; when it was hoped that the popular anxiety might have ſubſided. The vigilance of the people, and the people's friends, has hitherto baffled the Miniſter; and now he is driven to the wall. He is in the forlorn hope to-day. He will either attempt ſome oppoſition to its ſecond reading, (for you know that his promiſe of the contrary is nothing;) or he will oppoſe its being committed immediately; or he will at once give up the conteſt, and ſtrike to the people of England, as he has done to Ame-

rica and Ireland. If the latter event takes place, my expoſtulation is unneceſſary; but if he attempt either of the former, or in any form of procraſtination endeavour to obſtruct the progreſs of the bill, conſider the certain conſequence of your ſupporting him in a majority. It will be this:—

The committees of correſpondence, throughout the counties of England, will inſtantly communicate the fact, with all its circumſtance and explanation; the nature of the bill, and the nature of its rejection; with an exact account of the names and ſituation of the men who reject it. England will then ſee that thoſe, and almoſt only thoſe, who either hold places under the Crown, receive penſions from the Miniſter, or have invaded us from the northern part of the iſland, are the perſons who conſpire againſt the property and liberty of the people. I would rather leave to your imagination all the conſequences of ſuch a contemplation: but as probably you do not yet know much of the *committed ſpirit* of the country, it may be fair to adviſe you, that very

very poſſibly they may proceed to vote you enemies to this country, and *not the repreſentatives of the people.*

With more pleaſure, and fewer words, let me exhort your attention to the honourable and the ſafe, and in point even of intereſt, the wiſe alternative. Break the diſgraceful chains that have ſo long bound you to an abandoned Adminiſtration; and retain from the forgiveneſs of the people what you cannot longer withhold from their indignation. Not the gifts, but the givers have diſgraced you. Your places, your penſions, even the country of ſome of you, cannot juſtly ſubject you to poſitive reproach. It is only as they have inclined and debaſed you into infamous ſervility, that they have grown proverbial in the contempt of mankind. But in prudence, if not in honour, *aſſume the virtue if you have it not;* nor longer devote yourſelves to common ruin with the falling edifice of corruption. It ſhakes already to its foundation; the breath of the people will level it for ever.

GENUINE ABSTRACTS

FROM

TWO SPEECHES

OF THE LATE

EARL OF CHATHAM,

AND

HIS REPLY TO THE EARL OF SUFFOLK.

WITH A

PREFACE AND NOTES.

——" *Quanto majis admiraremini, ſi audiſſitis ipſum!*
Æſchines de Demoſthene, *Cic. de Oratore.*

[Theſe Abſtracts were originally printed for J. Dodſley, in the year 1779. And they have ſince been re-publiſhed, without the Preface, by Mr. Almon, in his Anecdotes of Lord Chatham's Life. But as the Preface is too cloſely connected with the Abſtracts to be publiſhed ſeparately, as it is in truth an animated picture of the manner in which theſe celebrated ſpeeches were delivered, and as the one has been no leſs admired for its elegance, than the others have aſtoniſhed all who heard the noble ſpeaker, for their extraordinary accuracy, it were an injuſtice to the MEMORY of Mr. Boyd, to omit them in a collection of his Works.]

PREFACE

BY

MR. BOYD.

THE Editor of the following Abſtracts hopes, that ſome introductory explanation will not be unacceptable, of the manner in which they have been preſerved, and the allowances with which they ſhould be read.

Soon after the reſpective dates of their delivery, he was favoured with the manuſcript copies, by the gentleman whoſe memory had ſerved him ſufficiently to commit them to writing,---with an exactneſs unuſual in the recital of publick debates. For, if the reader were fortunate enough to have heard them pronounced, he will here recollect, not only the ſubſtance, but in great meaſure, the form and phraſe in which they were ſpoken.

It muſt be obſerved, that this recital profeſſes to extend only to parts of the ſpeeches actually

actually delivered by Lord Chatham. It is not perhaps within poſſibility, that the unaſſiſted memory of one perſon ſhould retain, *verbatim*, the whole of ſuch ſpeeches. But the Editor knows it was the wiſh and care of his friend, faithfully to repreſent as much as was poſſible of the great original; ſubmitting to give an incomplete rather than a ſpurious likeneſs. It was particularly his ſtudy to preſerve the genuine diction of the noble ſpeaker;---as, of all the characteriſtick features by which his oratory was diſtinguiſhed, none was more eminent than the bold purity and claſſical force of his phraſeology.---It was ſo ſtrong and ſingular as to deſerve, and at the ſame time to facilitate, an exact recollection.

For the authenticity of theſe Abſtracts, it were perhaps ſufficient to refer to themſelves: their peculiar energy of ſtyle and ſentiment, is their beſt authentication. But, beſides this internal evidence, the Editor has alſo the ſatisfaction of aſſuring the Publick, that the concurring approbation of many accurate and reſpectable judges have given ſanction

tion to the faithfulneſs of his friend's repreſentation---as far as it extends.

It may be proper to obſerve, that from poſterior recollection of ſome paſſages, and revival of a few others in his memory, by converſation, or deſultory hints in newspapers, the Editor's friend could have greatly increaſed the bulk of theſe tranſcripts; and correctly too, as to matter; but the mode of expreſſion was loſt. *Fugerat irrevocabile verbum.* And he was as unwilling to interpolate any language of his own, as he was unable to render it conſiſtent with the genuine ſtyle of the great original *.

But the candour and imagination of the reader muſt ſupply another deficiency in our repreſentation of Lord Chatham's oratory, more affecting our purpoſe of exhibiting its true likeneſs, than the partial imper-

* This, it is hoped, will be ſufficient apology to the reader, for the abruptneſs in the beginning of the firſt ſpeech; which the Editor's friend unfortunately did not hear, and would not preſume to ſupply.—Before he came into the houſe, Lord Chatham had been ſpeaking for ſome time.

fection

fection we have mentioned.---Thoſe who have been witneſſes to the wonders of his eloquence---who have liſtened to the muſick of his voice, or trembled at its majeſty---who have ſeen the perſuaſive gracefulneſs of his action, or have felt its force;---thoſe who have caught the flame of eloquence from his eye---who have rejoiced in the glories of his countenance---or ſhrunk from his frowns,---will remember the reſiſtleſs power with which he impreſſed conviction. In theſe ſketches of his original genius, they will read what they have heretofore heard; and their memory will give due action to the picture, by refiguring to their minds what they have with admiration ſeen.---But, to thoſe who never heard nor ſaw this accompliſhed orator, the utmoſt effort of imagination will be neceſſary, to form a juſt idea of that combination of excellence, which gave perfection to his eloquence:---his elevated aſpect, commanding the awe and mute attention of all who beheld him; whilſt a certain grace in his manner, conſcious of all the dignities of his ſituation, of the ſolemn ſcene he acted in, as well as his own exalted

character,

character, ſeemed to acknowledge and repay the reſpect he received:---his venerable form, bowed with infirmity and age; but animated by a mind which nothing could ſubdue;---his ſpirit ſhining through him, arming his eye with lightning, and cloathing his lips with thunder;---or, if milder topics offered, harmoniſing his countenance in ſmiles, and his voice in ſoftneſs;---for the compaſs of his powers was infinite. As no idea was too vaſt, no imagination too ſublime, for the grandeur and majeſty of his manner; ſo no fancy was too playful, nor any alluſion too comic, for the eaſe and gayety with which he could accommodate to the occaſion. But the *character* of his oratory was dignity: this preſided throughout; giving force, becauſe ſecuring reſpect, even to his ſallies of pleaſantry. This elevated the moſt familiar language, and gave novelty and grace to the moſt familiar alluſions; ſo that, in his hand, even the crutch became a weapon of oratory *.

This

* *Telum Oratoris*, Cic.—"You *talk*, my Lords, of "conquering America—of your numerous friends there, "to

This extraordinary perſonal dignity, ſupported on the baſis of his well-earned fame, at once acquired to his opinions an aſſent which is ſlowly given to the argument of other men. His aſſertions roſe into proof; his foreſight became prophecy.--- Beſides the general ſanction of his character, and the deciſive dignity with which he pronounced his ſentiments, it was alſo well known that he carefully cultivated the moſt authentick channels of intelligence. And it was an additional and juſt praiſe to him, that he exerted the great influence of his name, and his other opportunities, to inveſtigate the pureſt ſources of political information. But as the activity of his publick zeal ſtimulated him to ſuch exertion; ſo the ſuperiority of his genius directed him to higher ſources. *For other men*, even the mechanical medium of official knowledge is a ſphere *too laborious*. Though Lord Chatham's duty did not diſdain, his ſpirit ſoared above ſuch little adventitious advantages.

" to annihilate the Congreſs—and your powerful forces " to diſperſe her army :—*I might as well talk of driving* " *them before me with this crutch.*" LORD CHATHAM.

His

His was intelligence in a truer ſenſe, and from the nobleſt ſource;---"from his own ſagacious mind *." His intuition, like faith, ſeemed ſuperior to the common forms of reaſoning. No clue was neceſſary to the labyrinth illuminated by his genius. Truth came forth at his bidding, and realiſed the wiſh of the philoſopher:---ſhe was ſeen and beloved.

It is by no means in the intention or the limits of this paper, and ſtill leſs within the abilities of the writer, to analyſe all the oratory of Lord Chatham, or give a full and juſt deſcription of excellence ſo various.

* He is his own beſt expoſitor. In a debate, 1770, on the papers relative to Falkland's Iſland, he explained this ſubject, *for the benefit of miniſters*. "Let them not ſcreen "themſelves behind the want of intelligence:—they had "intelligence:—I know they had:—If they had not, "they are criminal; and their excuſe is their crime.— "But I will tell theſe young miniſters the true ſource "of intelligence: It is ſagacity;—ſagacity to compare "cauſes and effects; to judge of the preſent ſtate of "things, and diſcern the future, by careful review of "the paſt.—Oliver Cromwell, who aſtoniſhed mankind "by his intelligence, did not derive it from ſpies in the "cabinet of every prince in Europe; he drew it from "the cabinet of his own ſagacious mind."

If

If the few imperfect hints that have been offered, can convey any idea of the vigour and animation of his manner, they will have attained their purpose: and the remains of his eloquence will afford proportionate pleasure; "*even in his ashes* shall survive *their wonted fires*."

GENUINE

GENUINE ABSTRACTS, &c.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Jan. 20, 1775.

THE Earl of Dartmouth, then Secretary of State for America, produced the official American papers.

The EARL of CHATHAM, after ſtrongly inveighing againſt the dilatorineſs of adminiſtration, &c. proceeded as follows:

— "But as I have not the honour of acceſs to his Majeſty, I will endeavour to tranſmit to him, through the conſtitutional channel of this houſe, my ideas of America, to reſcue him from the miſadvice of his preſent miniſters. I congratulate your Lordſhips that the buſineſs is *at laſt* entered upon, by

by the noble Lord's * laying the papers before you. As I ſuppoſe your Lordſhips too well apprized of their contents, I hope I am not premature, in ſubmitting to you my preſent motion:

" That an humble Addreſs be preſented " to his Majeſty, humbly to deſire and be- " ſeech his Majeſty, that in order to open " the way towards a happy ſettlement of " the dangerous troubles in America, by " beginning to allay ferments and ſoften " animoſities there; and above all, for pre- " venting in the mean time any ſudden and " fatal cataſtrophe at Boſton, now ſuffer- " ing under the daily irritation of an army " before their eyes, poſted in their town; " it may graciouſly pleaſe his Majeſty that " immediate orders may be diſpatched to " General Gage, for removing his Majeſty's " forces from the town of Boſton as ſoon " as the rigour of the ſeaſon, and other cir- " cumſtances indiſpenſable to the ſafety and " accommodation of the ſaid troops, may " render the ſame practicable."

* Lord Dartmouth.

I wiſh,

"I wiſh, my Lords, not to loſe a day in this urgent preſſing criſis; an hour now, loſt in allaying the ferment in America, may produce years of calamity; for my own part, I will not deſert for a moment the conduct of this mighty buſineſs, from the firſt to the laſt; unleſs nailed to my bed by the extremity of ſickneſs, I will give it unremitted attention; I will knock at the door of this ſleeping and confounded Miniſtry, and will rouſe them to a ſenſe of their important danger.

"When I ſtate the importance of the Colonies to this country, and the magnitude of danger hanging over this country, from the preſent plan of miſadminiſtration practiſed againſt them, I deſire not to be underſtood to argue a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but juſtice to America: and I ſhall ever contend that the Americans juſtly owe obedience to us in a limited degree:—they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation; but let the line be ſkilfully drawn between the objects of thoſe ordinances, and their private internal pro-

perty; let the ſacredneſs of their property remain inviolate; let it be taxable only by their own conſent; given in their provincial aſſemblies;—elſe, *it will ceaſe to be property.*—As to the metaphyſical refinements attempting to ſhew that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial reſtraints, as from taxation for revenue, as being unrepreſented here: I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundleſs.

"When I urge this meaſure of recalling the troops from Boſton, I urge it on this preſſing principle, that it is neceſſarily preparatory to the reſtoration of your peace, and the eſtabliſhment of your proſperity.—It will then appear that you are diſpoſed to treat amicably and equitably; and to conſider, reviſe, and repeal, if it ſhall be found neceſſary, as I affirm it will, thoſe violent acts and declarations which have diſſeminated confuſion throughout your empire.

"Reſiſtance to your acts was neceſſary as it was juſt; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of parliament, and your imperious

imperious doctrines of the neceſſity of ſubmiſſion will be found equally impotent to convince or enſlave your fellow ſubjects in America; who feel that tyranny, whether *ambitioned* by an individual part of the legiſlature or the* bodies who compoſe it, is equally intolerable to Britiſh ſubjects.

"The means of enforcing this thraldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice, as they are unjuſt in principle. Indeed I cannot but feel the moſt anxious ſenſibility for the ſituation of General Gage, and the troops under his command; thinking him as I do, a man of humanity and underſtanding; and entertaining, as I

* A favourite idea prevailed, and was often urged in argument by Adminiſtration, "that abſolute paſſive obedi-" ence is due to all poſſible acts of the legiſlature, which " muſt not, *in any caſe whatever*, be queſtioned, much leſs " reſiſted by the people." Mr. Locke thought otherwiſe; as his able and conſtitutional expounder, Lord Camden, has often demonſtrated. But in truth, it is a point rather of *practical* policy.—If, however, the poſtulatum were admitted in *ſpeculation*, the inference will not reach from Weſtminſter to Boſton. It will remain to be proved, that our *lords ſpiritual* and *temporal* have *privilege* in America; and that *our* Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, are *their* repreſentatives.

ever will, the higheſt reſpect, the warmeſt love, for the Britiſh troops.—Their ſituation is truly unworthy; penned up—pining in inglorious inactivity. They are an army of impotence:—you may call them an army of ſafety and of guard; but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt: and, to make the folly equal to the diſgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation. But I find a report *creeping* abroad, that the Miniſters cenſure General Gage's inactivity: let *them* cenſure him—it becomes them—it becomes their *juſtice* and their *honour:—I* mean not to cenſure his inactivity;—it is a prudent and neceſſary inaction: but it is a miſerable condition, where diſgrace is prudence, and where it is neceſſary to be contemptible. This tameneſs, however contemptible, cannot be cenſured; for the firſt drop of blood ſhed in civil and unnatural war might be *immedicabile vulnus.*

"I therefore urge and conjure your Lordſhips, immediately to adopt this conciliating meaſure;—I will pledge myſelf for its immediately producing conciliatory effects, by its

its being thus well-timed; but if you delay till your vain hope ſhall be accompliſhed, of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever. But admitting that this hope, which in truth is deſperate, ſhould be accompliſhed, what do you gain by the impoſition of your victorious amity?—you will be untruſted and unthanked. Adopt then the grace, while you have the opportunity of reconcilement; or at leaſt prepare the way. Allay the ferment prevailing in America, by removing the obnoxious hoſtile cauſe;—obnoxious and unſerviceable; for their merit can only be in inaction: "*Non dimicare et vincere:*" their victory can never be by exertions.—Their force would be moſt diſproportionately exerted againſt a brave, generous, and united people; with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts:—three millions of people, the genuine deſcendants of a valiant and pious anceſtry, driven to thoſe deſarts by the narrow maxims of a ſuperſtitious tyranny.—And is the ſpirit of perſecution never to be appeaſed?

—Are

—Are the brave ſons of thoſe brave fore-fathers to inherit their ſufferings, as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to ſuſtain the infliction of the moſt oppreſſive and unexampled ſeverity?—beyond the accounts of hiſtory or deſcription of poetry;—"*Rhadamanthus habet duriſſima regna, caſtigatque,* AUDITQUE:"—ſo ſays the wiſeſt poet, and perhaps the wiſeſt ſtateſman and politician:—but our Miniſters ſay, the Americans *muſt not be heard.* They have been condemned *unheard;* the indiſcriminating hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of hoſtility has blocked up the town * and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thouſand inhabitants.

"But his Majeſty is adviſed that the union in America cannot laſt. Miniſters have more eyes than I, and ſhould have more ears; but from all the information I have been able to procure, I can pronounce it, an union, ſolid, permanent, and effectual.—Miniſters may ſatisfy themſelves, and delude

* Boſton.

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the public, with the report of what they call commercial bodies in America.—They are *not* commercial:—they are your packers and factors; they live upon nothing—for I call commiſſion nothing;—I mean the miniſterial *authority* for this American intelligence; the runners for government, who are paid for their intelligence. But theſe are not the men, nor this the influence, to be conſidered in America, when we eſtimate the firmneſs of their union. Even to extend the queſtion, and to take in the really mercantile circle, will be totally inadequate to the conſideration. Trade indeed increaſes the glory and wealth of a country; but its real wealth and ſtamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land:—in their ſimplicity of life, is found the ſimpleneſs of virtue,—the integrity and courage of freedom. Theſe true genuine ſons of the earth are invincible: and they ſurround and hem in the mercantile bodies; even if theſe bodies, which ſuppoſition I totally diſclaim, could be ſuppoſed to be diſaffected to the cauſe of liberty. Of this general ſpirit exiſting in the American *nation;*

—for ſo I wiſh to diſtinguiſh the real and genuine Americans from the pſeudo-traders I have deſcribed — of this ſpirit of independence*, animating the *nation* of America, I have the moſt authentic information; —It is not new among them; it is, and has ever been, their eſtabliſhed principle; their confirmed perſuaſion; it is their nature and their doctrine,

"I remember ſome years ago when the ſtamp-act was in agitation, converſing in a friendly confidence with a perſon of undoubted reſpect and authenticity, on that ſubject; and he aſſured me, with a certainty which his judgment and opportunities gave him, that theſe were the prevalent and ſteady principles of America;—That you might deſtroy their towns, and cut them off

* (i. e). of *legal liberty*;—the *independence* of freemen, contra-diſtinguiſhed to the *dependent* ſtate of ſlaves. It was thought neceſſary to ſpecify this idea, leſt Lord Chatham ſhould have been miſconceived to have imputed an original *wiſh of diſconnexion* from this country. On the contrary, when that fatal event did occur, his Lordſhip attributed it to a very different cauſe from the *inclination* of America.—"That ſtate of independency into which "*your meaſures hitherto* have *driven* her."—*See next ſpeech*,

from

from the ſuperfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life; but that they were prepared to deſpiſe your power, and would not lament their loſs, whilſt they have—what, my Lords?—their *woods* and their *liberty*. The name of my authority, if I am called upon, will authenticate the opinion irrefragably.

"If illegal violences have been, as it is ſaid, committed in America; prepare the way, open the door of poſſibility, for acknowledgment and ſatisfaction: but proceed not to ſuch coercion, ſuch proſcription; ceaſe your indiſcriminate inflictions; amerſe not thirty thouſand—oppreſs not three millions for the fault of forty or fifty!—Such ſeverity of injuſtice muſt for ever render incurable the wounds you have already given your colonies;—you irritate them to unappeaſable rancour.—What though you march from town to town, and from province to province; though you ſhould be able to enforce a temporary and local ſubmiſſion—which I only ſuppoſe, not admit—how ſhall you be able to ſecure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progreſs?—to graſp the dominion of eighteen hundred

miles

miles of continent, populous in valour, liberty, and reſiſtance!

"This reſiſtance to your arbitrary ſyſtem of taxation might have been foreſeen:—It was obvious from the nature of things, and of mankind; and above all, from the whiggiſh ſpirit flouriſhing in that country. The ſpirit which now reſiſts your taxation in America, is the *ſame which formerly oppo-

* Not ſo, according to the political logic of adminiſtration; which would prove the *Toryiſm* of "this American ſpirit." In the debate for an addreſs, on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, October 26, 1775, Mr. Fox urged, with his uſual ability, what he conceived to be whig-principles, conſulting the good of the *governed*, rather than the *governors;* principles jealouſly ſecuring the *rights of the people* againſt every encroachment of power: and theſe, he thought, had ſome relation to the cauſe and conduct of America. But the noble Lord, who is ſometimes *rouſed* by that gentleman's manner of ſpeaking, undertook to prove the contrary.—"Adminiſtration are the "Whigs; and the Americans are Tories.—Adminiſtra-"tion wiſh to maintain the power of *parliament*, which is "the true whig-principle.—The Americans, on the con-"trary, would annihilate the authority of parliament, but "profeſs themſelves willing to obey the *crown:*—the per-"fect deſcription of a Tory!"—One would imagine, from ſuch reaſoning, "*run mad*," (to borrow the phraſe of a right reverend politician) that his Lordſhip had ſtudied *whiggiſm* under *his Grace*.

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ſed loans, benevolences, and ſhip-money in England:—the ſame ſpirit which called all England *on its legs*, and by the bill of rights vindicated the Engliſh conſtitution:—the ſame principle which eſtabliſhed the great, fundamental, eſſential maxim of our liberties, *that no ſubject of England ſhall be taxed but by his own conſent.*

"This glorious ſpirit of whiggiſm animates three millions in America:—who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and ſordid affluence; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen. What ſhall oppoſe this ſpirit?—aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breaſts of every whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers?—Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cauſe of the Colonies, and placed at their head, the diſtinction I contend for, is and muſt be obſerved.—This country ſuperintends and controuls their trade and navigation; but they *tax themſelves.* And this diſtinction between external and internal controul is ſacred and inſurmountable; it is involved in the abſtract nature

nature of things.—Property is private, individual, abſolute:—Trade is an extended and complicated conſideration;—it reaches as far as ſhips can ſail, or winds can blow; it is a great and various machine:—To regulate the numberleſs movements of its ſeveral parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the ſuperintending wiſdom and energy of the ſupreme power in the empire. But this ſupreme power has no effect towards internal taxation; for it does not exiſt in that relation;—there is no ſuch thing, *no ſuch idea in this conſtitution as a ſupreme power operating upon property.*—Let this diſtinction then remain for ever aſcertained; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours.—As an American, I would recognize to England her ſupreme right of regulating commerce and navigation; as an Engliſhman by birth and principle, I recognize to the Americans their ſupreme unalienable right in their property; a right which they are juſtified in the defence of to the laſt extremity. To maintain this principle is the common cauſe of the whigs on the other

ſide

ſide of the Atlantic, and on this:—"'Tis liberty to liberty engaged," that they will defend themſelves, their families, and their country.—In this great cauſe they are immoveably allied: it is the alliance of God and nature—immutable, eternal,—fixed as the firmament of heaven!—

"To ſuch united force, what force ſhall be oppoſed?—What, my Lords?—A few regiments in America, and ſeventeen or eighteen thouſand men at home! The idea is too ridiculous to take up a moment of your Lordſhips' time.—Nor can ſuch a national and principled union be reſiſted by the tricks of office, or miniſterial manœuvre. Laying of papers on your table, or counting noſes on a diviſion, will not avert or poſtpone the hour of danger:—it muſt arrive, my Lords, unleſs theſe fatal acts are done away; it muſt arrive in all its horrors, and then theſe boaſtful miniſters, ſpite of all their confidence, and all their manœuvres, ſhall be forced to hide their heads.—They ſhall be forced to a diſgraceful abandonment of their preſent meaſures and principles: principles which they avow, but cannot defend;

---meaſures

—meaſures which they preſume to attempt, but cannot hope to effectuate. They cannot, my Lords, they cannot ſtir a ſtep;—they have not a *move* * left;—they are *check-mated.*

"But it is not repealing this act of parliament, or that act of parliament, it is not repealing a *piece of parchment*, that can reſtore America to our boſom: you muſt repeal her fears and her reſentments; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, inſulted with an armed force, poſted at Boſton; irritated with an hoſtile

* An alluſion to the game of Cheſs. The *King* is the object of the game; and therefore the moſt valuable, though not the moſt powerful, piece on the board. *Check-mate* is that ſituation where he is ſo weakly ſupported by his pieces, or ſo entangled by their injudicious diſpoſition, that he cannot eſcape. This danger is often incurred by expoſing himſelf too much, and taking too active a part in the game. Vide Philidor, Analyſe du Jeu des Echecs.—It is certainly a noble and royal paſtime. Charles I. was actually playing at it in the Scots camp, when intelligence was brought to him of their final reſolution to betray him. In due praiſe of the royal ſteadineſs, the hiſtorian obſerves, that "*he continued his game without interruption.*" See Hume's Hiſt. Eng.—or, as Lord Chatham once called it in the Houſe of Lords, "*his* APOLOGY *for the Houſe of Stuart.*

array

array before her eyes, her conceſſions, if you *could* force them, would be ſuſpicious and inſecure; they will be *irato animo;* they will not be ſound, honourable pactions of freemen; they will be dictates of fear, and extortions of force.—But it is more than evident, that you cannot force them, principled and united as they are, to your unworthy terms of ſubmiſſion---it is impoſſible: and when I hear General Gage cenſured for inactivity, I muſt retort with indignation on thoſe, whoſe intemperate meaſures and improvident councils have betrayed him into his preſent ſituation.---His ſituation reminds me, my Lords, of the anſwer of a French general in the civil wars of France. ---Monſieur Conde oppoſed to Monſieur Turenne: He was aſked, how it happened that he did not take his adverſary priſoner, as he was often very near him: "J'ai peur," replied Conde, very honeſtly, "J'ai peur "qu'il ne me prenne;" *I'm afraid he'll take me.*---

"When your Lordſhips look at the papers tranſmitted us from America; when you conſider their decency, firmneſs, and wiſ-

dom,

dom, you cannot but reſpect their cauſe, and wiſh to make it your own.---For myſelf, I muſt declare and avow, that in all my reading and obſervation---and it has been my favourite ſtudy; I have read Thucidydes, and have ſtudied and admired the maſter-ſtates of the world---that for ſolidity of reaſoning, force of ſagacity, and wiſdom of concluſion in ſuch a complication of difficult circumſtances, no nation or body of men can ſtand in preference to the general Congreſs at Philadelphia.---I truſt it is obvious to your Lordſhips, that all attempts to impoſe ſervitude upon ſuch men, to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm over ſuch a mighty continental *nation*, muſt be vain, muſt be fatal. We ſhall be *forced ultimately to retract;* let us retract while we can, not when we muſt. I ſay we muſt neceſſarily undo theſe violent oppreſſive acts*: *they muſt be repealed;*---*you*

* Acts of parliament paſſed the preceding ſeſſion;—for ſhutting up the port of Boſton; altering the charter of the Maſſachuſet's Bay, &c. The noble ſpeaker's prediction has been ſtrictly verified; the repeal of theſe acts was *at laſt*, after three years ſucceſsleſs war, ſent out as a peace-offering to the Congreſs of America:—whether with

you will repeal them; I pledge myſelf for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I ſtake my reputation on it:---I will conſent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not finally repealed. Avoid then this humiliating, diſgraceful neceſſity.---With a dignity becoming your exalted ſituation, make the firſt advances to concord, to peace, and to happineſs: for *that* is your true dignity, to act with prudence and with juſtice.---That *you* ſhould firſt concede, is obvious from ſound and rational policy.---Conceſſion comes with better grace and more ſalutary effect from the ſuperior power; it reconciles ſuperiority of power with the feelings of men; and eſtabliſhes ſolid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude.

"So thought a wiſe poet and a wiſe man in political ſagacity: the friend of Mecenas, and the eulogiſt of Auguſtus.---To him, the adopted ſon and ſucceſſor of the firſt Cæſar, to him, the maſter of the world, he

with a "dignity becoming the once exalted character of "this country, or through a diſgraceful humiliating ne-"ceſſity,"—let the feelings of this country confeſs.

wisely urged this conduct of prudence and dignity; "*Tuque prior, tu parce;---projice tela manu.*"

"Every motive therefore of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America,---by a removal of your troops from Boston,---by a repeal of your acts of parliament,---and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your Colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures.---Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread:---France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors;---with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your Colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

"To conclude, my Lords: if the Ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm *that they will make the crown not*

not worth his wearing.---I will not ſay that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce, *that the kingdom is undone*."

The Reader will recollect that the preceding ſpeech was made on Jan. 20, 1775. He will have obſerved that the motion which it accompanied, for removing his Majeſty's troops from Boſton, was urged by the Noble Speaker expreſsly on the ground of *peaceably* accommodating the peace with America. He will remember that the only ground of diſpute then, was *the taxation of that country claimed by this;* the attempted exerciſe of which, had produced a riot at Boſton. The *Independence* of America was not then in contemplation: unleſs in the reveries of a reverend writer on the ſubject, who maintained a propoſition, memorable only for its *ſingularity;* " that the Inde-
" pendence of America would be a benefi-
" cial event for England."---To the Americans it never occurred, unleſs for the refutation of ſome injurious ſuſpicions, by the

moſt ſolemn, abſolute, and expreſs diſavowal.

The noble Lord's motion was, however, rejected: and hoſtilities commenced at Lexington, on the 19th of the following April.

It is unneceſſary to particularize the ſubſequent events. They are too well known, too ſeverely felt by every friend of his country.---"Years of calamity," fatally fulfil the prophecy of Lord Chatham. The Britiſh empire has ſuſtained the "immedicabile "vulnus" which his wiſdom would have averted. How he would have corrected the diſorder at its *criſis*, before it attained its deſperate malignity, will be ſeen in the following ſpeech, on November 20th, 1777. His Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech of that day is prefixed; that the "Confidence" and "Hopes" expreſſed in it by his Majeſty's Miniſters, may fairly ſtand in contraſt with the opinions of Lord Chatham. Let hiſtory form the comment.

HOUSE

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Nov. 20th, 1777.

HIS Majeſty opened the Seſſion with the following moſt gracious Speech from the throne.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It is a great ſatisfaction to me, that I can have recourſe to the wiſdom and ſupport of my Parliament, in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in North America demands our moſt ſerious attention. The powers which you have entruſted me with, for the ſuppreſſion of this revolt, have been moſt faithfully exerted; and I have a juſt confidence, that the conduct and courage of my officers, and the ſpirit and intrepidity of my forces, both by ſea and land, will, under the bleſſing of Divine Providence, be attended with ſucceſs. But as I am perſuaded that you will ſee the neceſſity of preparing for ſuch further operations

rations as the contingences of the war, and the obſtinacy of the rebels, may render expedient; I am for that purpoſe purſuing the proper meaſures for keeping my land-forces complete to their preſent eſtabliſhment; and if I ſhould have occaſion to encreaſe them, by contracting any new engagements, I rely on your zeal and publick ſpirit to enable me to make them good.

"I have received repeated aſſurances from foreign powers, of their pacific diſpoſitions; my own cannot be doubted: but, at this time, when the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continue, I have thought it adviſeable to make a conſiderable augmentation to my naval force; as well to keep my kingdoms in a reſpectable ſtate of ſecurity, as to provide an adequate protection for the extenſive commerce of my ſubjects. And, as on the one hand, I am determined that the peace of Europe ſhall not be diſturbed by me, ſo, on the other, I will always be a faithful guardian of the honour of the Crown of Great-Britain.

"Gentlemen

" Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I have ordered the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you. The various ſervices which I have mentioned to you will unavoidably require large ſupplies: and nothing could relieve my mind from the concern which I feel for the heavy charge which they muſt bring on my faithful people, but the perfect conviction that they are neceſſary for the welfare and the eſſential intereſts of my kingdoms.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I will ſteadily purſue the meaſures in which we are engaged, for the re-eſtabliſhment of that conſtitutional ſubordination, which, with the bleſſing of God, I will maintain through the ſeveral parts of my dominions. But I ſhall ever be watchful for an opportunity of putting a ſtop to the effuſion of the blood of my ſubjects, and the calamities which are inſeparable from a ſtate of war. And I ſtill hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude will return to their allegiance; and that the remembrance of what they once enjoyed, the regret

gret for what they have loſt, and the feelings of what they now ſuffer, under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will rekindle in their hearts a ſpirit of loyalty to their ſovereign, and of attachment to their mother-country; and that they will enable me, with the concurrence and ſupport of my parliament, to accompliſh what I ſhall conſider as the greateſt happineſs of my life, and the greateſt glory of my reign, the reſtoration of peace, order, and confidence, to my American Colonies."

In anſwer to his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech, Lord Percy moved their Lordſhips to concur in an Addreſs in the following terms:

"That they, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return his Majeſty their humble thanks for his moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne:

"To offer their congratulations to his Majeſty on the encreaſe of his domeſtic happineſs, by the birth of another princeſs, and

and the recovery of his royal Conſort; who is moſt highly endeared to this nation; as well by her Majeſty's eminent and amiable virtues, as by every new pledge of ſecurity to our religious and civil liberties.

" That they are duly ſenſible of his Majeſty's goodneſs in recurring to the advice and ſupport of his parliament in the preſent conjuncture, when the rebellion in North-America ſtill continues; and to return his Majeſty their unfeigned thanks for having communicated to them the juſt confidence which his Majeſty repoſes in the zeal, intrepidity, and exertions of his Majeſty's officers and forces both by ſea and land: but at the ſame time, that they entertain a well-founded hope of the important ſucceſſes, which, under the bleſſing of Providence, may be expected: That they cannot but applaud his Majeſty's unwearied vigilance and wiſdom, in recommending them to prepare, at all events, for ſuch further operations as the contingencies of the war, and the obſtinacy of the rebels may render expedient:—That they are therefore gratefully ſenſible of his Majeſty's conſideration, in purſuing the meaſures neceſſary

ceſſary to keep his land-forces complete to the preſent eſtabliſhment; and that they owe it both to his Majeſty and themſelves to ſay, that they ſhall chearfully concur in enabling his Majeſty to make good ſuch new engagements with foreign powers, for the augmentation of the auxiliary troops, as the weighty motives his Majeſty has ſtated, may induce him to contract.

"That it is with great ſatisfaction they learn, that his Majeſty receives repeated aſſurances from foreign powers of their pacific diſpoſitions; and that, with hearts full of gratitude and admiration, they acknowledge his Majeſty's humane, ſteady, and dignified conduct, which is equally well calculated to demonſtrate to the world, his Majeſty's wiſh to preſerve the general tranquillity of Europe, and his determination to maintain the honour of the crown, the ſecurity of theſe kingdoms, and the commercial intereſts of his ſubjects.

"That they thankfully receive his Majeſty's declaration of perſeverance now purſuing, for the re-eſtabliſhment of a juſt and conſtitutional ſubordination through the

ſeveral

ſeveral parts of his Majeſty's dominions; and beg leave to aſſure his Majeſty, that they participate the deſire which at the ſame time animates his royal breaſt, to ſee a proper opportunity for putting an end to the effuſion of blood, and the various calamities inſeparable from a ſtate of war.

"That the conſtant tenor of his Majeſty's reign has ſhewn, that his whole attention is employed for the ſafety and happineſs of all his people; and that, whenever their unhappy fellow-ſubjects in North-America ſhall duly return to their allegiance, they ſhall readily concur in every wiſe and ſalutary meaſure which can contribute to reſtore confidence and order, and to fix the mutual welfare of Great-Britain and her Colonies on the moſt ſolid and permanent foundations."

LORD CHATHAM. "I riſe, my Lords, to declare my ſentiments on this moſt ſolemn and ſerious ſubject. It has impoſed a load upon my mind, which I fear, nothing can remove; but which impels me to endeavour

deavour its alleviation, by a free and unreſerved communication of my ſentiments.—

"In the firſt part of the addreſs, I have the honour of heartily concurring with the noble earl who moved it. No man feels ſincerer joy than I do, none can offer more genuine congratulation on every acceſſion of ſtrength to the proteſtant ſucceſſion: I therefore join in every congratulation on the birth of another princeſs, and the happy recovery of her Majeſty.—But I muſt ſtop here—my courtly complaiſance will carry me no farther;—I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and diſgrace;—I cannot concur in a blind and ſervile addreſs, which approves and endeavours to ſanctify, the monſtrous meaſures that have heaped diſgrace and misfortune upon us—that have brought ruin to our doors. This, my Lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment! It is not a time for adulation;—the ſmoothneſs of flattery cannot now avail—cannot ſave us in this awful and rugged criſis:—it is now neceſſary to inſtruct the throne in the language of truth.—We muſt diſpel the deluſion and the darkneſs which envelop

envelop it, and diſplay, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors.

"This, my Lords, is our duty; it is the proper function of this noble aſſembly, ſitting as we do upon our honours in this houſe, the hereditary council of the Crown: ---And *who* is the Miniſter---*where* is the Miniſter, that has dared to ſuggeſt to the throne the contrary, unconſtitutional language, this day delivered from it?---The accuſtomed language from the throne has been application to parliament for advice, and reliance on its conſtitutional advice and aſſiſtance;---as it is the right of parliament to give, ſo it is the duty of the crown to aſk it:---but on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is repoſed on our conſtitutional councils!---no advice is aſked from the ſober and enlightened care of parliament! but the Crown from itſelf, and by itſelf, declares an unalterable determination to purſue meaſures---and what meaſures, my Lords?---the meaſures that have produced the imminent perils

perils that threaten us, the meaſures that have brought ruin to our doors.

" Can the Miniſter of the day now preſume to expect a continuance of ſupport, in this ruinous infatuation?—Can parliament be ſo dead to its dignity, and its duty, as to be thus deluded into the loſs of the one, and the violation of the other?—To give an unlimited credit and ſupport, for the *ſteady* perſeverance in meaſures;—*that* is the word and the conduct, not propoſed for our parliamentary advice, but dictated and forced upon us—in meaſures, I ſay, my Lords, which have reduced this late flouriſhing empire to ruin and contempt!—" *But yeſ-*
" *terday, and* England *might have ſtood*
" *againſt the world;—now none ſo poor to do*
" *her reverence.*"—I uſe the words of a poet; but though it be poetry, it is not fiction.—It is a ſhameful truth, that not alone the power and ſtrength of this country are waſting away and expiring, but her well-earned glories, her true honour, and ſubſtantial dignity, are ſacrificed. France, my Lords, has inſulted you; ſhe has encou-

raged

raged and ſuſtained America:—and whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to ſpurn at the officious inſult of French interference. The miniſters and ambaſſadors of thoſe who are called rebels and enemies, are in Paris: in Paris, they tranſact the reciprocal intereſts of America and France.—Can there be a more mortifying inſult?—Can even our Miniſters ſuſtain a more humiliating diſgrace?—Do they dare to reſent it?—Do they preſume even to hint a vindication of their honour, and the dignity of the ſtate, by requiring the diſmiſſal of the plenipotentiaries of America?—Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England!—The people whom they affected to call contemptible rebels, but whoſe growing power has at laſt obtained the name of enemies;—the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and againſt whom they now command our implicit ſupport in every meaſure of deſperate hoſtility;—this people, deſpiſed as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted againſt you, ſupplied with every military ſtore, their intereſts conſulted, and

their

their ambaſſadors entertained, by your inveterate enemy!—and our Miniſters dare not interpoſe with dignity or effect.—Is this the honour of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant ſpirit of England, who, "but yeſterday," gave law to the houſe of Bourbon? My Lords, the dignity of nations demands a deciſive conduct in a ſituation like this. Even when the greateſt prince that perhaps this country ever ſaw, filled our throne, the requiſition of a Spaniſh general, on a ſimilar ſubject, was attended to, and complied with; for, on the ſpirited remonſtrance of the Duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herſelf obliged to deny the Flemiſh exiles all countenance, ſupport, or even entrance into her dominions; and the Count Le Marque, with his few deſperate followers, was expelled the kingdom:—happening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it weak in defence, they made themſelves maſters of the place—and this was the foundation of the United Provinces.

"My Lords, this ruinous and ignominious ſituation, where we cannot act with ſucceſs, nor ſuffer with honour, calls upon

us

us to remonſtrate in the ſtrongeſt and loudeſt language of truth, to reſcue the ear of Majeſty from the deluſions which ſurround it.—The deſperate ſtate of our arms abroad is in part known.—No man thinks more highly of them than I do: I love and honour the Engliſh troops; I know their virtues and their valour; I know they can atchieve any thing—except impoſſibilities; and I know that the conqueſt of Engliſh America *is an impoſſibility*. You cannot, I venture to ſay it, YOU CANNOT conquer America. Your armies laſt war effected every thing that could be effected; and what was it?—It coſt a numerous army, under the command of a moſt able General *, now a noble Lord in this Houſe, a long and laborious campaign, to expel 5000 Frenchmen from French America.—My Lords, YOU CANNOT CONQUER AMERICA.—What is your preſent ſituation there? we do not know the worſt; but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and ſuffered much. Beſides the ſufferings,

* Sir Jeffery (now Lord) Amherſt.

perhaps *total loſs*, of the Northern force *.—The beſt appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines;—*he was obliged* to relinquiſh his attempt; and with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and diſtant plan of operations.—We ſhall ſoon know, and in any event have reaſon to lament, what may have happened ſince.—As to conqueſt, therefore, my Lords, I repeat, it is impoſſible:—You may ſwell every expence, and every effort ſtill more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every aſſiſtance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince, that ſells his ſubjects to the ſhambles of a foreign prince;—your efforts are for ever vain and impotent; doubly ſo from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable

* General Burgoyne's army. The hiſtory of it is ſhort. Moſt of its braveſt officers fell; and above half its numbers: the REST ſurrendered to the enemy on the 17th of Oct. 1777. See the Gazettes. The account of this *total loſs*, as the noble ſpeaker's preſcience expreſſed it on the 20th of November, arrived in England in the beginning of December.

reſentment,

reſentment, the minds of your enemies. To over-run them with the mercenary ſons of rapine and plunder; devoting them, and their poſſeſſions, to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Engliſhman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never!

"Your own army is infected with the contagion of theſe illiberal allies.—The ſpirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them.—I know it—and notwithſtanding what the noble Earl *, who moved the addreſs, has given as his opinion of our American army, I know from authentic information, and the *moſt experienced officers*, that our diſcipline is deeply wounded. Whilſt this is notoriouſly our ſinking ſituation, America grows and flouriſhes: whilſt our ſtrength and diſcipline is lowered, theirs riſes and improves.

"But, my Lords, who is the man, that in addition to theſe diſgraces and miſchiefs of our army, has dared to authoriſe and aſſo-

* Lord Percy.

ciate to our arms the tomahawk and ſcalping-knife of the ſavage? To call into civilized alliance, the wild and inhuman ſavage of the woods; to delegate to the mercileſs Indians, the defence of diſputed rights; and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war againſt our brethren? My Lords, theſe enormities cry aloud for redreſs and puniſhment; unleſs thoroughly done away, it will be a ſtain on the national character—it is a violation of the conſtitution—I believe it is againſt law.—It is not the leaſt of our national misfortunes, that the ſtrength and character of our army are thus impaired;—infected with the mercenary ſpirit of robbery and rapine—familiarized to the horrid ſcenes of ſavage cruelty, it can no longer boaſt of the noble and generous principles which dignify a ſoldier; no longer ſympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumſtance of glorious war,—"that make ambition virtue!"—What makes ambition virtue?—the ſenſe of honour. But is the ſenſe of honour conſiſtent with a ſpirit of plunder, or the practice of murder?—Beſides theſe murderers

derers and plunderers, let me ask our miniſters, what other allies have they acquired? What *other powers* have they aſſociated to their cauſe?—Have they entered into alliance with *the King of the gypſies?*—Nothing, my Lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be conſiſtent with their counſels.

"The independent views of America have been ſtated and aſſerted as the foundation of this addreſs.—My Lords, no man wiſhes more for the due dependence of America on this country than I do. To preſerve it, and not to confirm that ſtate of independence into which *your meaſures* hitherto have *driven* them, is the object we ought to unite in attaining. The Americans, contending for their rights againſt arbitrary exactions, I love and admire; it is the ſtruggle of free and virtuous patriots:—but contending for independency and total diſconnection from England, as an Engliſhman, I cannot wiſh them ſucceſs; for, in a due conſtitutional dependency, including the ancient ſupremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, conſiſts the mtual happineſs and proſperity both of England

England and America. She derived assistance and protection from us; and we reaped from her the most important advantages: she was, indeed, the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval power.—It is our duty, therefore, my Lords, if we wish to save our Country, most seriously to endeavour the recovery of these most beneficial subjects: and in this perilous crisis, perhaps may be the only one in which we can hope for success; for in their negociations with France, they have, or think they have, reason to complain:—though it be notorious that they have received from that power important supplies and assistance of various kinds, yet it is certain they expected it in a more decisive and immediate degree:—America is in ill humour with France, on some points that have not entirely answered her expectations:—let us wisely take advantage of every possible moment of reconciliation. Besides, the natural disposition of America herself still leans towards England, to the old habits of connection and mutual interest that united both countries; this *was* the established sentiment

timent of all the continent; and ſtill, my Lords, in the great and principal part, the ſound part of America, this wiſe and affectionate diſpoſition prevails: and there is a very conſiderable part of America yet ſound —the middle and the ſouthern provinces; ſome parts may be factious and blind to their true intereſts; but if we expreſs a wiſe and benevolent diſpoſition to communicate with them thoſe immutable rights of nature, and thoſe conſtitutional liberties, to which they are equally entitled with ourſelves; by a conduct ſo juſt and humane, we ſhall confirm the favourable, and conciliate the adverſe: —I ſay, my Lords, the rights and liberties to which they are equally entitled with ourſelves, but no more. I would participate to them every enjoyment and freedom which the colonizing ſubjects of a free ſtate can poſſeſs; and I do not ſee why they ſhould not enjoy every fundamental right in their property, and every original ſubſtantial liberty, which Devonſhire, or Surrey, or the county I live in, or any other county in England can claim; reſerving always, as the ſacred right of the mother-country,

country, the due conſtitutional dependency of the Colonies. The inherent ſupremacy of the ſtate in regulating and protecting the navigation and commerce of all her ſubjects, is neceſſary for the mutual benefit and preſervation of every part, to conſtitute and preſerve the proſperous arrangement of the whole empire.

" The ſound parts of America, of which I have ſpoken, muſt be ſenſible of theſe great truths, and of their real intereſts. America is not in that ſtate of deſperate and contemptible rebellion, which this country has been deluded to believe:—It is not a wild and lawleſs banditti, who, having nothing to loſe, might hope to ſnatch ſomething from public convulſions;—many of their leaders and great men have a great ſtake in this great conteſt: the gentleman who conducts their armies, I am told, has an eſtate of four or five thouſand pounds a year: and when I conſider theſe things, I cannot but lament the inconſiderate violence of our penal acts, our declarations of treaſon and rebellion, with all the fatal effects of attainder and confiſcation.

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"As to the diſpoſition of foreign powers, which is aſſerted to be pacific * and friendly, let us judge my Lords, rather by their actions and the nature of things, than by intereſted aſſertions.—The uniform aſſiſtance ſupplied to America by France, ſuggeſts a different concluſion:—The moſt important intereſts of France, in aggrandizing and enriching herſelf with what ſhe moſt wants, ſupplies of every naval ſtore from America, muſt inſpire her with different ſentiments:—The extraordinary preparations of the Houſe of Bourbon, by land and by ſea, from Dunkirk to the Streights, equally ready and willing to overwhelm theſe defenceleſs iſlands, ſhould rouſe us to a ſenſe of their real diſpoſition and our own danger. Not five thouſand troops in England!—hardly three thouſand in Ireland!—What can we oppoſe to the combined force of our enemies?—Scarcely twenty ſhips of the line fully or ſufficiently manned, that any admiral's reputation would permit him to take

* See the King's Speech, page 278.

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the command of*.—The river of Liſbon in the poſſeſſion of our enemies!—The ſeas ſwept by American privateers:—Our channel torn to pieces by them!—In this complicated criſis of danger, weakneſs at home and calamity abroad, terrified and inſulted by the neighbouring powers,—unable to act in America, or acting only to be deſtroyed;—where is the man with the forehead to

* In reply to the noble ſpeaker's aſſertion relative to the number of ſhips, &c. the firſt Lord of the Admiralty roſe in his place; and gave their Lordſhips *official aſſurance* "that *thirty-five* ſhips of the line were *then* (Nov. "20, 1777) compleatly ready; that *ſeven* more would "be ready in a few weeks; in all FORTY-TWO: and "that an admiral of the moſt acknowledged merit (he "*then* ſaid) and of the higheſt reputation, ADMIRAL "KEPPEL, was ready to take the command."—In March 1778, Admiral Keppel went to Portſmouth to take the command. He found "*but* SIX SHIPS *ready*," and thoſe in ill condition.—See *defence of Admiral Keppel.*—"On the 30th of June, *twenty ſhips* of the line were "ready, with which Admiral Keppel ſailed. *Thirty-*"*two* ſhips of the line then lay in Breſt water, beſides an "incredible number of frigates."—*Ibid.* The Engliſh fleet were forced to return, from this vaſt ſuperiority of this fleet of France.—"A firſt Lord of the Admiralty, if "he does not take care always to have a fleet ſuperior "to both France and Spain, *deſerves to loſe his head.*"—LORD SANDWICH.

promiſe

promiſe or hope for ſucceſs in ſuch a ſituation? or, from perſeverance in the meaſures that have driven us to it?—Who has the forehead to do ſo?—Where is that man?—I ſhould be glad to ſee his face.

"You cannot *conciliate* America by your preſent meaſures—you cannot *ſubdue* her by your preſent, or by any meaſures.—What then can you do?—You cannot conquer—you cannot gain—but you can *addreſs;* you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that ſhould produce them. But, my Lords, the time demands the language of truth:—we muſt not now apply the flattering unction of ſervile compliance, or blind complaiſance.—In a juſt and neceſſary war, to maintain the rights or honour of my country, I would ſtrip the ſhirt from my back to ſupport it:—but in ſuch a war as this, unjuſt in its principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its conſequences, I would not contribute a ſingle effort nor a ſingle ſhilling.—I do not call for vengeance on the heads of thoſe who have been guilty—I only recommend to them to make their

retreat,

retreat,—let them walk of;—and let them make haſte, or they may be aſſured that ſpeedy and condign puniſhment will overtake them.

" My Lords, I have ſubmitted to you, with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my ſentiments on your preſent awful ſituation. I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the diſgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your diſcipline, the contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domeſtic, that overwhelm your ſinking country.—Your deareſt intereſts, your own liberties, the conſtitution itſelf, totters to the foundation.—All this diſgraceful danger, this multitude of miſery, is the monſtrous offſpring of this unnatural war. We have been deceived and deluded too long;—but let us now ſtop ſhort:—this is the criſis, may be the only criſis *, of time and ſituation, to give

* It cannot have eſcaped obſervation, with what urgent anxiety the noble ſpeaker has preſſed this point throughout his ſpeech; the critical neceſſity of *inſtantly* treating with America. But the warning voice was heard

give us a poſſibility of eſcape from the fatal effects of our deluſions.—But if in an obſtinate and infatuated perſeverance in folly, we meanly echo back the peremptory words this day preſented to us, nothing can ſave this devoted country from complete and final ruin.—We madly ruſh into multiplied miſeries and "confuſion worſe confounded."

Is it poſſible, can it be believed, that miniſters are yet blind to this impending deſtruction? I did hope, that inſtead of this falſe and empty vanity, this overweening pride, engendering high conceits, and preſumptuous imaginations,—that miniſters would have humbled themſelves in their errors, would have confeſſed and retracted them, and by an active though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them.—But, my Lords, ſince they had neither ſagacity to foreſee, nor juſtice nor humanity to ſhun, theſe oppreſſive calamities; ſince, not even ſevere experience can

heard in vain: the *Addreſs* triumphed: parliament adjourned: Miniſters enjoyed the feſtive receſs of a long Chriſtmas:—and America ratified her alliance with France.

make

make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their ſtupefaction, the guardian care of parliament muſt interpoſe. I ſhall therefore, my Lords, propoſe to you an amendment to the addreſs to his Majeſty, to be inſerted immediately after the two firſt paragraphs of congratulation on the birth of a princeſs; —to recommend an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the commencement of a treaty to reſtore peace and liberty to America, ſtrength and happineſs to England, ſecurity and permanent proſperity to both countries.—This, my Lords, is yet in our power; and let not the wiſdom and juſtice of your Lordſhips neglect the happy and perhaps the only opportunity.—By the eſtabliſhment of irrevocable laws, founded on mutual rights, and aſcertained by treaty, theſe glorious enjoyments may be firmly perpetuated.—And let me repeat to your Lordſhips, that the ſtrong bias of America, at leaſt of the wiſer and ſounder parts of it, naturally inclines to this happy and conſtitutional reconnection with you. Notwithſtanding the temporary intrigues with

France,

France, we may ſtill be aſſured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us.—America and France cannot be congenial;—there is ſomething deciſive and confirmed in the honeſt American, that will not aſſimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.

" My Lords, to encourage and confirm that innate inclination to this country, founded on every principle of affection, as well as conſideration of intereſt—to reſtore that favourable diſpoſition into a permanent and powerful re-union with this country—to revive the mutual ſtrength of the empire; again to awe the Houſe of Bourbon, inſtead of meanly truckling, as our preſent calamities compel us, to every inſult of French caprice, and Spaniſh punctilio—to re-eſtabliſh our commerce—to re-aſſert our rights and our honour—to confirm our intereſts, and renew our glories for ever (a conſummation moſt devoutly to be endeavoured! and which, I truſt, may yet ariſe, from reconciliation with America)—I have the honour of ſubmitting to you the following amendment; which I move to be inſerted after

after the two firſt paragraphs of the Addreſs :"

" And that this Houſe does moſt humbly " adviſe and ſupplicate his Majeſty, to be " pleaſed to cauſe the moſt ſpeedy and " effectual meaſures to be taken, for reſtor- " ing peace in America; and that no time " may be loſt in propoſing an immediate " ceſſation of hoſtilities there, in order to " the opening a treaty for the final ſettle- " ment of the tranquillity of theſe invalu- " able provinces, by a removal of the un- " happy cauſes of this ruinous civil war; " and by a juſt and adequate ſecurity againſt " the return of the like calamities in times " to come.—And this Houſe deſire to offer " the moſt dutiful aſſurances to his Majeſty, " that they will, in due time, chearfully " co-operate with the magnanimity and " tender goodneſs of his Majeſty, for the " preſervation of his people, by ſuch expli- " cit and moſt ſolemn declarations, and " proviſions of fundamental and irrevocable " laws, as may be judged neceſſary for the " aſcertaining and fixing for ever the re-

" ſpective

" ſpective rights of Great-Britain and her " Colonies."

In the courſe of the Debate, Lord Suffolk, ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department, undertook to defend the employment of the Indians in the war. His Lordſhip contended, that, beſides its *policy* and *neceſſity*, the meaſure was alſo allowable on *principle;* for that " it was per- " fectly juſtifiable to uſe all the means " that *God and Nature put into our hands.*"

" I AM ASTONISHED!"——(exclaimed LORD CHATHAM as he roſe)—" ſhocked —to hear ſuch principles confeſſed—to hear them avowed—in this houſe, or in this country:—principles equally unconſtitutional, inhuman, and unchriſtian!

" My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention; but I cannot repreſs my indignation—I feel myſelf impelled by every duty:—My Lords, we are called upon as members of this houſe, as

men, as Chriſtian-men, to proteſt againſt ſuch notions ſtanding near the throne—polluting the ear of Majeſty!—"That God and Nature put into our hands!"—I know not what ideas that Lord may entertain of God and Nature; but I know that ſuch abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the ſacred ſanction of God and Nature to the maſſacres of the Indian ſcalping-knife, to the cannibal ſavage torturing, murdering, roaſting, and eating—literally, my Lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles!—Such horrible notions ſhock every ſentiment of honour;—they ſhock me as a lover of honourable war, and a deteſter of murderous barbarity.

"Theſe abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the moſt deciſive indignation. I call upon the *right reverend* bench, thoſe holy miniſters of the goſpel, and pious paſtors of our church:—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God. I appeal to the wiſdom and the law of *this learned* bench, to defend and ſupport the

the juſtice of their country.—I call upon the Biſhops to interpoſe the unſullied ſanctity of their lawn;—upon the learned Judges to interpoſe the purity of their ermine, to ſave us from this pollution:—I call upon the honour of your Lordſhips, to reverence the dignity of your anceſtors, and to maintain your own:—I call upon the ſpirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character.—I invoke the genius of the Conſtitution!—From the tapeſtry that adorns theſe walls, the immortal anceſtor of this noble Lord *, frowns with indignation at the diſgrace of his country.—In vain he led your victorious fleets againſt the boaſted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and eſtabliſhed the honour, the liberties, the religion, the *Proteſtant religion* of this country, againſt the arbitrary cruelties of popery, and the inquiſition—if theſe more than popiſh cruelties, and inquiſitional practices are let looſe among us;—to turn forth into our

* Lord Effingham.—Lord Effingham Howard was Lord High Admiral of England againſt the Spaniſh Armada; the deſtruction of which is repreſented in the tapeſtry.

ſettlements, among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the mercileſs cannibal, thirſting for the blood of man, woman, and child! to ſend forth the infidel ſavage,—againſt whom?—againſt your proteſtant brethren:—to lay waſte their country—to deſolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name; with theſe horrible hell-hounds of ſavage war!—*hell-hounds, I ſay, of ſavage war.* Spain armed herſelf with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America;—and we improve on the inhuman example of Spaniſh cruelty—we turn looſe theſe ſavage hell-hounds againſt our brethren and countrymen in America, of the ſame language, laws, liberties, and religion; endeared to us by every tie that ſhould ſanctify humanity.

"My Lords, this awful ſubject, ſo important to our honour, our conſtitution, and our religion, demands the moſt ſolemn and effectual inquiry: and I again call upon your Lordſhips, and the united powers of the ſtate, to examine it thoroughly and deciſively, and to ſtamp upon it an indelible ſtigma of publick abhorrence. And I again implore

implore thoſe holy prelates of our religion, to do away thoſe iniquities from among us. Let them perform a luſtration;—let them purify this houſe, and this country, from this ſin.

" My Lords, I am old and weak, and at preſent unable to ſay more; but my feelings and my indignation were too ſtrong to have ſaid leſs.—I could not have ſlept this night in my bed, nor repoſed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of ſuch prepoſterous and enormous principles."

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

To PORTIA *on her* NATAL DAY.

IF poetry is beſt inſpir'd by love,
And *amorous* numbers moſt harmonious move,
If tender feelings form the tender ſong—
Let me be rank'd the tend'reſt bards among.
For oh! not Ovid more delighted dwelt
On Chloe's charms, nor more enraptur'd felt
Their ſoft'ning pow'r--nor Horace' tender lays
More truly mov'd in Lydia's claſſic praiſe;
Not Cowley's ſelf more amorouſly own'd
Fair Amoret's ſway, with every beauty crown'd;
Than I my Fanny's virtuous charms adore,
Their praiſe confeſs, and own their ſoft'ning pow'r.
—Tho' my untutor'd muſe in vain aſpires
On youthful wing to catch the rapt'rous fires
Which

Which warm'd *their* glowing fancy; yet my theme
Superior ſhall inſpire a purer flame.—
Come, holy Hymen! vindicate your ſway,
And teach inferior powers to obey:
With ſacred ſtrains thy votariſt inſpire,
Duly to celebrate thy hallow'd fire:
Teach him to ſing, that Chloe's wanton arms,
That Lydia's beauty, and fair Amoret's charms
Without thy holy ſanction, wanted pow'r;
—Inconſtant gew-gaws,—play-things of an hour:
Teach him to ſhew the virtuous joys which bleſs
Thy hallow'd reign—pure peace and happineſs:
Teach him his Fanny's conduct to proclaim;
—Her conduct and thy praiſes are the ſame.—
Divineſt virtues,—genuine growth of heav'n!
To her in fulleſt excellence are given:
Sincere and juſt, ſhe knows not to deceive;
Piercing and wiſe, ſhe knows when to believe:
Humane and ſoft, ſhe feels for others' woe;
Gen'rous and free, her joy is to beſtow;—
Gentle and mild, ſhe fears to give offence,
But firm and bold, in honour's juſt defence:

Rare

Rare union of ſuch virtues! happieſt he
Who calls them his, in ſweet ſociety!—
Learn hence, ye rakes;—the greateſt good of life
Is ſuch a woman—ſuch a virtuous wife.—
—Oh may this happy morn full oft return!
Conſtant may Hymen's choiceſt torches burn
To light it on! may many future days
Thus happily demand my grateful praiſe!
—And may all-bounteous Heav'n, whoſe gracious power
Form'd thee to bleſs,—ſtill bleſs thy lateſt hour,
Crown thee with years, with affluence, and eaſe—
Then gently waft thee to eternal peace!

To Miss Ch——tte A——n.

THO' Friendſhip's ſacred name is oft miſ-us'd,
Its maſk aſſum'd, and its intent abus'd;

Let

Let not my friend miſtruſt my ſimple phraſe,
Nor think that flatt'ry, which is barely praiſe.
As the kind gard'ner, with unceaſing care,
From threat'ning ſtorms, and the inclement air,
Protects his tender plants—beneath his hand
Complete they riſe and flouriſh in the land—
So, if in early youth ſome ſeeds of worth
Lay in my mind, *thy* influence brought them forth;
Tho' not implanted, they were rear'd by you,
And cheriſh'd by *your* nurture, kindlier grew;
By *your* example animated, warm'd,
My greener youth to virtue's path was form'd;
And if hereafter in maturer days
I may pretend to aught that merits praiſe,
Let it be given where it is juſtly due,
And all *my* merit be deriv'd from *you*.

An

An EPILOGUE

Spoken by a Young Lady, after the Performance of the Tragedy of DOUGLAS, *at a private Theatre.*

I aſk Miſs Roſey's pardon—'tis not ſo;
I could not ſure ſo unpolitely go
Without a curt'ſie—"Plunge i'th' empty air!"
Lord, how it makes a modern widow ſtare.
Our more ſubſtantial—not leſs fatal—flights,
Aſpire not to thoſe odious rocky heights;
In Pleaſure's lower region we take wing,
Not a dead Lord—a loving Slave's the thing.
And though we give ourſelves ſome "empty airs,"
They're not from rocks—but boxes above ſtairs.
Such is the modern drama of the time,
A whimſy, tragi-comic pantomime;
Where clowns and changelings net the foremoſt parts,
And where Love's plot! alas! is hands—not hearts.
But hold,—ſententious ſatire ill beſeems
A Miſs, juſt, at your ſervice, in her teens.

Far

Far more delighted, ſhe with rapture tells,
With grateful rapture, what around her dwells.
The happy ſcenes, where "Love makes duty light;"
Where ſhines confeſt, Matilda of to-night.
Maternal ſhines, whilſt in their ſphere of love,
Her little ſatellites around her move.
Bleſt with her bright example, we aſpire,
To catch the ſparks of Virtue's ſacred fire.
The thought that elevates, the hope that glows
With lively ſympathy, the heart that knows
No other pain, than other's pains create,
No purer joy than friends participate.

A PROLOGUE

Spoken at the opening of a private Theatre in Ireland.

WHILST Shakeſpeare's name our ſiſter-nation fills,
Shall we not write: ſhall we not uſe our quills?
Our kingdom boaſts a hero as divine,
Swift of St. Patrick's, a great friend of mine.—
O ſacred

O ſacred ſhade! inſpire thy humble friend;
Let not thy love with thy exiſtence end.
So ſhall my verſe recount, in numbers fit,
Thy humour, drollery, and waggiſh wit.—
With gaping mouth how have I liſt'ning ſtood,
(Albeit unuſed to the laughing mood)
When you would complaiſantly condeſcend
To crack a joke and bottle with your friend;
Thou firſt of jokers! glory of this Iſle!
That couldſt even me * provoke ſometimes to ſmile!
Since thou haſt left us, joy and joke are o'er,
All Ireland weeps,—and I ſhall ſmile no more.—
But not to mirth and jeſt alone confin'd,
Thy Country's love inſpir'd thy noble mind:
When Wood attempted with audacious hand
To ſpread his baleful *halfpence* o'er the land,
Thy watchful genius inſtant took th' alarm,
And cruſh'd the traitor with revengeful arm;

* Mr. Paragraph, the Speaker, is remarkable, among other things, for a moſt invincible inflexibility of muſcles, from which he was never known to deviate, unleſs, as he ſays himſelf, "provoked thereto by the humour of the "Dean."

And

And juſt thy vengeance; to ſuch boldneſs due;
Sure never man ſuch wild ambition knew;
To hope ſuch impoſition e'er could paſs!
In *Ireland* to diſperſe his *ſpurious* braſs!
Where every day *the true* ſtands full confeſt,
Bright in each forehead, burniſh'd on each creſt:
But ſoon thy genius trac'd the baſe allay,
And ſent the coiner *penny*-leſs away.—
Such wit and humour, with ſuch ſenſe combin'd,
Perplex and puzzle the admiring mind;
We know not which we ſhould moſt highly praiſe,
Thy mighty talents—or ſoft winning ways;
Thy ſpirit never dies, thy wit ne'er flags,
Thou firſt of Patriots! and thou firſt of Wags!

To Mrs. BOYD, *in England, from* H. BOYD *in Bengal, with his* PICTURE,—22*d of Oct.* 1785.

IF true to Nature, imitative Art
Could in the faithful features paint the heart,
With genuine force give the warm wiſh to glow—
The conſtant ſigh to heave—the tear to flow;
And all the mix'd emotions fully blend
Of lover, huſband, guardian, father, friend:
Then ſhould this canvas proudly claim your care,
For truth and tenderneſs would triumph there.
But ſince no Art can ſuch ſenſations trace,
Since even Nature hardly gives the face
All that the heart can feel,—be thine, my love,
Kindly to view and fondly to improve.
And as you firſt th' Original inſpir'd
With real paſſion, and with rapture fir'd,
So let the Copy meet your fav'ring eyes,
And Sympathy ſupply what Art denies.

On the Performance of ſelected ſacred MUSICK, *for the Benefit of the* MALE ASYLUM, *at Madras.*

HEARD ye not the ſolemn ſtrain?
Hark!—the aweful ſounds again!
Still through the quiv'ring air they float,
Each varied, lengthen'd, melting note:
Now in reſiſtleſs majeſty they roll,
Now thrilling through the heart, exalting now the ſoul.

O magic charms, whoſe potent ſway,
Or fires to rage, or melts to tears,
Whoſe power the paſſions all obey,
Love, hate, joy, grief, warm hopes, chill fears:
Hail mighty power of all-commanding ſong!
Sweet as the vernal breeze, as the high billow ſtrong.

When from thy native heavenly ſphere,
Deſcending on the mortal ear
Thou pour'ſt the full extatic ſtrain,
Rapture borders upon pain,—

When

When from the awful pauſe—again the full notes meet,
Almoſt for ſenſe too ſtrong, too exquiſitely ſweet.

Can Muſick's charms more powerful move
Than tun'd to glory, or to love?
Than in warm friendſhip's generous glow?
Than in ſoft pity's tender woe?
Yes—a ſublimer theme our ear demands,
And the beſt paſſions of the ſoul commands.

O CHARITY! thou Chriſtian grace!
Parent of good! of heavenly race!
Uniting in thy ſacred call
Love, friendſhip, pity, glory,—all;
Lo! at thy foſtering ſhrine, with uplift hands,
The poor, the helpleſs, infant orphan ſtands!

Pious Orgies ſtrike our ear!
Angels bow from heaven to hear;
Sound again the hallow'd lays—
Again the HALLELUJAHS raiſe—
To notes of heavenly rapture touch the lyre,
The Orphan's grateful voice ſhall fill the choir.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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